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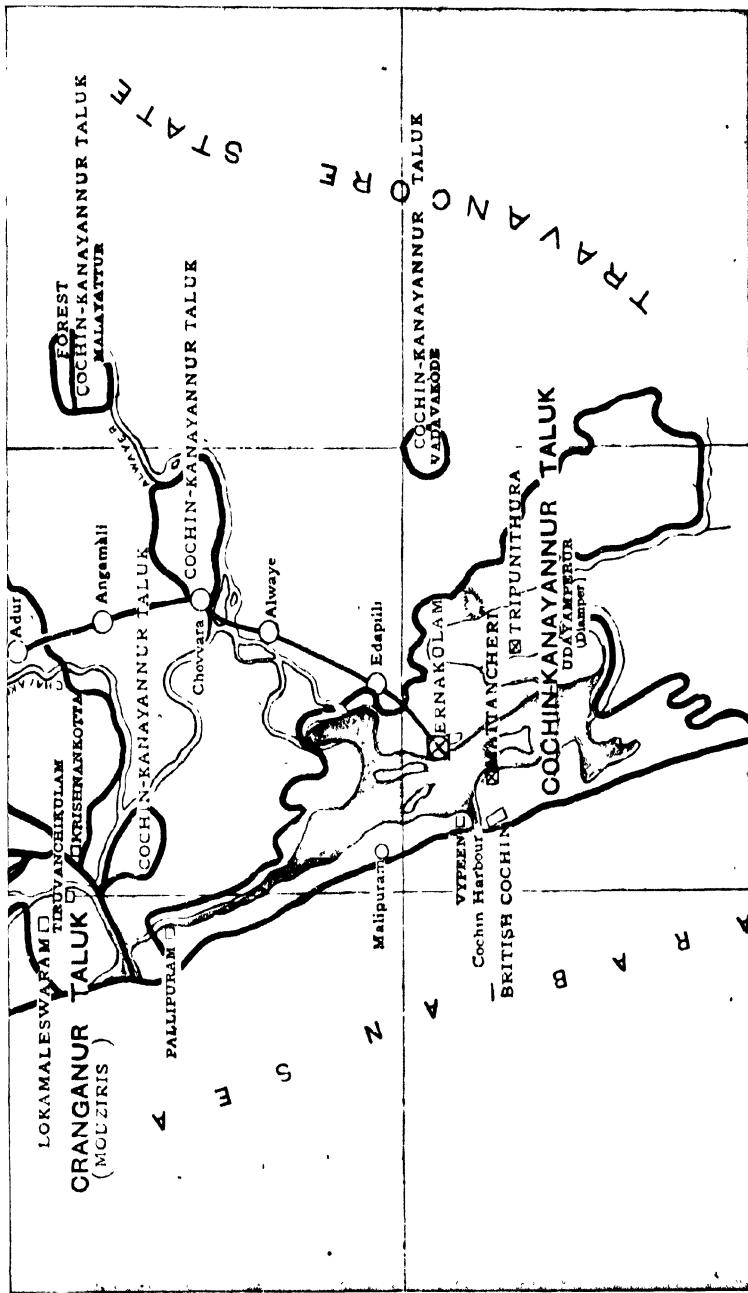
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[Frontispiece]

ANGLO-INDIAN STUDIES

BY

S. M. MITRA

AUTHOR OF

"LIFE OF SIR JOHN HALL," "INDIAN PROBLEMS," "HINDUPORE," ETC.
AND JOINT-AUTHOR WITH HER HIGHNESS THE MAHARANI OF BARODA OF
"THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN INDIAN LIFE"

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1913

TO
LORD REAY,
K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D.,
IN TOKEN OF REGARD AND ESTEEM
FOR
HIS GREAT SERVICES IN THE CAUSE
OF
MY COUNTRY INDIA,
THIS VOLUME
IS,
BY KIND PERMISSION,
DEDICATED.

PREFACE

MY book, “ Indian Problems,”* has not only been well received by the British Press, but has been quoted by Lord Curzon in a Debate in the House of Lords.† Among my humble suggestions therein which aroused attention was the granting of the Victoria Cross to members of the Native Army,‡ which was graciously taken into consideration by the King-Emperor, with the result that the much-coveted V.C. is now within the reach of my countrymen. Such circumstances have encouraged me to publish the present volume, “ Anglo-Indian Studies.” That the supreme importance of India to the British Empire requires to be better comprehended is the view of most British statesmen, including Lord Sydenham, until last April Governor of Bombay, who, in his speech at the Royal Asiatic Society last week, observed that: “ Coming back from India after five and a half years of strenuous work filled with absorbing interests, he was

* “ Indian Problems,” with an Introduction by Sir George Birdwood, M.D., K.C.I.E. John Murray, 1908.

† *The Times*, February 22, 1912, p. 12, col. 3.

‡ “ Indian Problems,” p. 57.

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struck with the general apathy in regard to Indian affairs which appeared to prevail in this country. . . . The more the Indian and the British people understood their joint-history and the principles on which India was now governed, the deeper would be their mutual respect and their sense of need of each other. There were signs of a growing reluctance among our young men to enter upon Indian careers at a time when India had need of the keenest brains and the largest hearts that Great Britain could supply. To his mind there was no nobler career than that which India offered to our and her young men—no career which brought greater opportunities of doing practical and visible good within the compass of their working lives.”*

The following pages have been written to help the inhabitants of the British Isles and India to understand one another’s actions and the thoughts that lead to them, and especially to give the British reader an idea of the working of the Indian mind, which makes my countrymen sometimes interpret British actions in a different way from that which British statesmen intended. Readers to whom psychology does not appeal will probably find in other Chapters a good deal of new matter which concerns material progress, particularly in Chapter VI., on a new Indian Port for Ocean Liners, illustrated by a map. I hope, in short, that the sixteen Chapters, being

* *The Times*, June 11, 1913, p. 7, col. 2.

varied in subject, will interest various classes of British readers of both sexes.

The special feature of the volume is the attempt at the study of Indian psychology with reference to British administrative measures in my native land. I trust it will stimulate inquiry into the political psychology of the Indian, and point out to the thoughtful section of the British public that such Occidental administrative measures as are against the psychology of the native of India are political blunders which should be avoided, for it is not easy for England to retrace, if I may so put it, her Imperial steps.

An example of the difference between English and Indian political psychology may perhaps make my meaning clearer. Whatever may be thought of the utility of the House of Lords at the present day, no sane man doubts that five hundred years ago it would have been impossible to govern England without the support of the landed aristocracy of the country. British statesmen, in their zeal for introducing their democratic system of government into India, forget that India is pre-eminently an aristocratic land. This was pointed out a generation ago by Lord Lytton, and Lord Sydenham again made it plain in one of his remarkable speeches at Bombay in September, 1912. Those who talk of Colonial Self-Government for India forget that all India is not British, that more than a third is still under Native Rulers. Will these powerful Princes,

PREFACE

with their large armies and great wealth, ever agree to Home Rule for India on existing Colonial or proposed Irish lines ? If any British scheme in India is opposed to the interests of the Native Rulers, what chance has it of success, especially when the British Government have little influence over the Hindu and Moslem Faiths, which hold in the hollow of their hand at least ninety-nine per cent. of the Hindus and Moslems of that great Dependency ? The real attitude of the Indian Princes towards a democratic system of government is best shown by the fact that not a single Prince, Moslem or Hindu, has so far felt justified in allowing any newspapers to be printed *without a licence* within the limits of his territories, either by his own or by British subjects. The British cantonments in Native States, at the special request of their Rulers, are protected by the Viceroy from the encroachments of the Press. So the idea of indigenous Indian Home Rule is diametrically opposed to that of the Canadian, the Australian, or the proposed Irish Home Rule.

Throughout this volume I have tried to make each Chapter independent of the other. Those who carefully peruse the whole book will therefore notice what may at first appear unnecessary repetition, but my residence for the last eight years in England has convinced me that only a very small percentage of British readers go through a whole volume on serious subjects. As

a rule the average man turns up only such Chapters as seem likely to appeal to him. Since such readers form the vast majority, I have considered it advisable to repeat in two or more places facts which appear to me useful for the elucidation of the context in which they occur. I hope the synopsis of the Chapters in the Table of Contents and the copious Index will considerably aid the reader.

I need hardly say that the expression “Anglo-Indian,” as in Anglo-Indian officers, Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, etc., refers throughout to *Englishmen*, and has nothing whatever to do with Eurasians, who now call themselves Anglo-Indians.

For the convenience of the British reader, in most places where the Indian rupee is mentioned, its present approximate equivalent is given in British currency. Exchange, we know, fluctuated considerably during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, so those who wish to have an *exact* exchange value for lakhs of rupees, during any particular year of that period, must calculate for themselves according to the then existing exchange.

I take this opportunity of thanking Dr. W. L. Courtney for his kind permission to reproduce here the Papers on the “Indian Princes” and the “Indian Unrest,” which were first published in the *Fortnightly Review*. Through the courtesy of the publishers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*

PREFACE

I am able to reprint the Paper on the “ Moslem-Hindu *Entente Cordiale*.” My thanks are also due to Mr. W. Wray Skilbeck for allowing me to include the Papers on the “ Indian Press,” “ Christianity in Hinduism,” and the “ Balkan War and India,” which originally appeared in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*. The last two articles were published only a few months ago, and I therefore appreciate Mr. Skilbeck’s courtesy all the more. These Papers have been very slightly altered here.

In conclusion I thank Lord Reay for granting me permission to dedicate this volume to his lordship.

S. M. MITRA.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.
June 18, 1913.

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ANGLO-INDIAN STUDIES

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIAN AND HINDU WAR ETHICS

THE Balkan War gives much food for reflection to friends of peace. Will the world ever submit to international arbitration? Those acquainted with only Western history may perhaps find consolation in the thought that regular and consistent Occidental endeavours to reduce cruelty and bring war within the domain of ethics are only about fifty years old, and therefore there is high hope of a future when the nations will live as united members of a large family. The Conferences summoned during the past fifty years to discuss the laws of peace and war are the development of the principles set forth in the seventeenth century of this era by the great Dutchman Grotius, whose *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* is generally accepted as the foundation of the Western science of international law. Grotius was born in Holland in 1583, and he therefore passed the prime of his life amid the storm and stress of war. His relation to the Treaty of Westphalia

(1648), which closed the Thirty Years' War in Germany and the Eighty Years' War in the Netherlands, is ably treated by Walker.* On July 4, 1899, the American delegates to the Hague Peace Conference placed a wreath of oak and laurel leaves wrought in gold and silver on his tomb, thus publicly acknowledging him as the great forecaster of the principles the West was met to discuss. But those who know the literature and history of my country, India, and remember how it anticipated Grotius by about thirty centuries, how it forestalled the Conferences of Geneva (1864, 1868, and 1906), St. Petersburg (1868), Brussels (1874), and the Hague (1899 and 1907), how its warriors and ministers, about fifteen centuries before the Christian Era, made rules of warfare equivalent to much that is embodied in modern international law, and how it had men like those who to-day in England attempt to set forth the inexpediency and unprofitable results of what they call "the great illusion"—those who bear in mind these facts of Indian history will be forced to the conclusion that human nature, in spite of all the discussions that have taken place, remains much the same now as it was in the days of the Hindu Emperor Yudhishtira, King George's predecessor on the Delhi Throne, in 1500 b.c. For even in India itself—that land so prolific of philosophy, and which, about thirty centuries before Grotius, had

* "Science of International Law," chap. iv.

its peace conferences and its elaborate rules for the more humane conduct of military affairs—little has been effected to control the fighting spirit that seems innate in man; and if the English were to withdraw from India to-morrow, I fear that, notwithstanding all the peace precepts of our Mahabharata, and in spite of the stupendous philosophy and so-called fatalism of the Hindus, our Maharajas would speedily be at each other's throats, as they were before the *pax Britannica* was established there.

It is easy to talk of compulsory arbitration or any other plan for settling international disputes by means of an umpire without recourse to arms, but do any of the nations seem likely to put such a theory into practice? Take the war in the Balkans. What subject of dispute between nations could more easily have been submitted to a tribunal than the ostensible cause at issue between Turkey and the Balkan States? One could understand the difficulty of finding an umpire of suitable status to check a conflict between England and Germany, or between Russia and Japan, or between France and Germany—in fact, between any of the six Great World Powers; but surely giants like England, Germany, France, and Russia might have been accepted as umpires by comparative pygmies like Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Servia. Yet no! either the pygmies preferred war to arbitration, or else the giants were not inclined to arbitrate,

which only shows that, talk as much as you will—and the human race, as I hope to show, was talking on war and peace about fifteen centuries before the Christian Era, and will, I suppose, continue to talk of it as long as the world endures—it appears very doubtful, though the Hague Conference should live for thirty-five centuries to come, whether all the talk will ever be able to abolish war. For is not human action practically in sympathy with Moltke's dictum : " Perpetual peace is a dream, and it is not even a beautiful dream. War is an element in the order of the world ordained by God. . . . Without war the world would stagnate and lose itself in materialism "? Does it not seem that man will never be satisfied unless he proves his superiority by brute force ? Now, I propose to show that the precepts and practices of peace and war were much the same in 1500 B.C. in Hindu India as they are at the present day throughout the Christian world.

Taking the ancient epic of the Mahabharata as my first authority—that huge encyclopædia of Hinduism in eighteen volumes which contains the record of so many battles and peace conferences—it will be seen that the ancient Hindus did not fail to discuss the morality and expediency of war. Sometimes, arguing the question whether war was really a profitable investment for a country, they anticipated some recent Western theorists by about thirty-five

centuries : "The king should gain victories without battles," said Bhishma, the mighty commander of the Kauravas, and the great philosophic warrior-statesman, the Moltke-Balfour of those times. "Victories won by battles are not held in high esteem by them that have wisdom."* Again : "Shun the waging of war for the acquisition of territory. Territory should be gained by conciliation, by gifts, and by exciting disunion among other kingdoms."† This last means of extending a nation's power recalls the famous Roman motto of later centuries, *Divide et impera*, which is still considered such a useful maxim for foreign rulers. Yet another argument against the acquisition of territory by war : "The energy necessary for putting down a hostile kingdom would be better expended in care of one's own kingdom."‡ Acting on this principle, England, after repeated conquests, has always left Afghanistan. Most earnest is Bhishma's counsel : "Even when thou hast gathered together a mighty army composed of the four kinds of forces, thou shouldst, Yudhishthira, first adopt a peaceful behaviour. If these efforts towards peace are unsuccessful, then thou mayst enter upon battle. The victory, O Bharata, that is gained by battle is far inferior."§

"Is a good war better than a bad peace?" was a question discussed by Vidura, another Hindu

* Santi Parva xciv. 1.

† *Ibid.* Ixix. 23.

‡ Udyoga Parva xxxiii.

§ Santi Parva cii. 16, 17.

statesman of the Mahabharata, a point which the nations are even now still engaged in arguing. One difference between Bhishma and Vidura, the Hindu sages, and Grotius, the founder of Western international law, may here be noted : whereas the latter held that the normal condition of human society was war, the Hindu statesmen in the fifteenth century before Christ laid special emphasis on the fact that the normal condition of human society was peace, and war the breach of such a condition.

The ancient Hindus had various methods resembling those of modern times, which they endeavoured to adopt before resorting to war. Of these, treaties and alliances were perhaps the most important. Treaties they divided roughly into three classes :* (1) Those made through fear. Dozens of instances in modern Indian history may be cited from the volumes of Aitchison's "Treaties and Sanads" made by small Rajas and petty Chiefs with the Government of India for protection against the encroachments of powerful Maharajas. (2) Those made through good offices. As a modern example of this kind of treaty I may mention the present alliance between the Maharaja of Nepal and the Government of India, which depends largely on the good offices rendered by the Nepal State during the troubled times of the Indian Mutiny. (3) Those made through gifts of wealth, or, in modern parlance,

* Santi Parva lix. 37.

through a subsidy, as the treaty by which the Government of India gives a large sum of money annually to the Amir of Afghanistan, and enters into an alliance with him, the Amir, in consideration of that gift, engaging to make no alliance with any foreign Power without the concurrence of the British.

The importance of alliances was apparently as fully recognized by the ancient Hindus as it is in the present day. "There is nothing that cannot be achieved by alliances,"* asserted Vidura. "A man," said Bhishma, "crosses a deep broad river by a log. The man conveys the log to the other side, and the log also conveys the man,"† Successful alliances and counter-alliances were in their eyes as necessary a part of policy as battle. In a case where mutual advantage would result from alliance, they advised making a compact even with an enemy ; but having achieved the object in view, the foe was no longer to be trusted.

The essence of what constitutes international friendships is included in Bhishma's description of the different friends of a monarch : (1) He who pursues the same object ; (2) he who is exceedingly attached to him ; (3) he who is related to him ; (4) he whose good-will has been gained by presents and kindness, and (5) an upright man who will range himself on one side and not on both.‡ "Of these kinds of friendship," said

* Udyoga Parva xxxvi.

† Santi Parva cxxxviii. 60.

‡ *Ibid.* lxxx. 3, 4.

Bhishma, "look with mistrust upon the first and fourth ; at the same time do not trust any over-much. Trust and mistrust all of them. Mistrust him as an enemy who would profit by your own destruction, but trust him entirely whose fall would be the consequence of your own fall."* It is not difficult to see how this counsel, applied to nations instead of individuals, was taken as a guiding principle by the ancient Hindus in making peace and war.

When war-clouds darkened the horizon, the peoples of ancient India who were engaged in the dispute sent diplomatic agents or envoys (*duta*) to each other to endeavour first to come to a peaceful settlement without recourse to force. These envoys were chosen from among the ablest brains of the nation. "They should," said Bhishma. "possess these great qualities : noble birth, eloquence, ability, pleasant address, reliability in delivering the message entrusted to them, and a good memory."† Comparing this with more modern definitions of an ambassador, it will be granted, I think, that the Hindus, thirty-five centuries ago, had a very good grasp of what is required in a diplomatist. Note that they demanded a good memory in an envoy, which was possibly partly that he might bear well in mind his deviations from the truth. Does not Sir Henry Wotton define an ambassador as "an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country"?

* Santi Parva lxxx. 13, 15.

† *Ibid.* lxxxv. 28.

Spies have always been considered a lawful means of gaining information about the enemy and the enemy's country. Spies were as eyes to the kings of ancient India and as roots to their kingdoms.* There was evidently a great secret service system, with approved rules,† and "inattention to spies" was mentioned by Vidura as one of the causes of the downfall of a king.‡ Those who are acquainted with the enormous sums spent nowadays by the Great Powers on secret service will appreciate the extent to which ancient India anticipated the methods which, after thirty-five centuries, are still in force. The necessary qualifications of these members of the secret service of ancient India were many. They were to be men of tried ability, astute, and capable of great endurance. They might look like fools, said Bhishma, while in reality being far from foolish; for those Hindu statesmen of bygone days knew that to conceal one's cleverness is often the highest diplomacy. They were to be employed so secretly as to be unacquainted with each other, and they were to find out the king's enemies among his own people, as well as those agents of other kingdoms who might be working stealthily in his dominions.§ Their duty was to combat treason both in his kingdom and in the kingdoms of his allies.

* Udyoga Parva xxxiii., and Santi Parva lxxxiii. 50.

† Virata Parva xxvi.

‡ Udyoga Parva xxxviii.

§ Santi Parva lxix. 8-13.

By such means as these the best of the ancient Hindu kings sought to maintain peace, but at the same time prepared themselves for war. Even in that early age of human society they realized the intimate connection of war and politics, for Bhishma discussed at length whether war is an outgrowth of politics, or politics an outgrowth of war. When war was actually in progress, indiscriminate slaughter was not laid down as the order of the day. "A king," said Bhishma, "should never slay a large proportion of the forces of the foe, though he should do sufficient to render his victory sure. He should never inflict such injury as would leave a lasting memory of humiliation in the enemy's heart."* Moreover, for two special reasons the conquering troops of the Hindu were not to pursue the defeated enemy too hotly, because troops that are thus closely pursued sometimes rally, and with the courage of despair make a dangerous attack upon their foe, and also because brave men do not care to mow down those who run.† Both from motives of humanity and of policy their precepts forbade the abuse of force and the infliction of unnecessary suffering, thus anticipating by about thirty centuries the spirit of the Declaration of St. Petersburg (1868), which set forth that "the only legitimate object which States should endeavour to accomplish during war is to weaken the military forces of the enemy; . . . that this

* Santi Parva ciii. 18, 19.

† *Ibid.* xcix. 11-13.

object would be exceeded by the employment of arms which uselessly aggravate the sufferings of disabled men, or render their death inevitable.”*

In some respects the Hindu’s sense of fair play went even beyond that which now prevails in warfare. The signatories of the Declaration of St. Petersburg renounced the use of certain explosive bullets, and the Hague Conference of 1899 adopted a Declaration prohibiting the use of expanding bullets ; but few, I imagine, of the Powers assembled at those conferences would have been prepared to say that both parties to a struggle must be equally equipped, otherwise the fight would be accounted unfair. The Hindus would have thought it a monstrously unequal contest for a combatant in armour to fight with one not similarly protected. Bhishma’s rule of battle was mailed soldier against mailed soldier, cavalry against cavalry.† According to Manu, the ancient Hindu lawgiver, battles were to be contested fairly. There were other explicit regulations for the conduct of warfare which are plain anticipations of the principles set forth by the Geneva Conventions and the Hague Conferences. “ Neither poisoned nor barbed arrows should be used,”‡ said Bhishma, forestalling by over thirty centuries Convention IV., Art. 23 (a), of the Hague Conferences, which especially forbids

* “The Hague Peace Conferences,” by A. Pearce Higgins, LL.D., pp. 5, 6. 1909.

† Santi Parva xcv. 7, 8, 10.

‡ *Ibid.* 11.

belligerents "to employ poison or poisoned arms." "A feeble or wounded opponent should not be slain," said Bhishma, ". . . or he whose weapon has been broken. . . . One should fight one adversary and leave him when he is disabled.* . . . A warrior whose armour has fallen off, or who begs for quarter . . . or who has cast aside his weapon, may be taken prisoner, but never slain."† Compare with these principles the prohibitions made by the Hague Conferences in Convention IV., Art. 23 (c), "to kill or wound an enemy who, having laid down his arms, or having no longer means of defence, has surrendered at discretion," and (d), "to declare that no quarter will be given."

As regards the wounded, according to Bhishma, they were either to be sent home, or they were to be taken to the victor's quarters and their wounds looked to there.‡ This may be set over against Chapter I., Art. 1, of the Geneva Convention of 1906: "Soldiers, and other persons officially attached to armies, shall be respected and taken care of when wounded or sick, by the belligerent in whose power they may be . . ." and part of Art. 2, Chapter I., of the same Convention: "Belligerents . . . will be at liberty to agree: To restore to one another the wounded left on the field after a battle; to repatriate any wounded and sick whom they do not wish to retain as prisoners . . ." and

* Santi Parva xcv. 12, 7.

† *Ibid.* xcv. 3.

‡ *Ibid.* xcv. 12.

other similar regulations intended to mitigate the horrors of war.

Convention IV., Art. 23 (g), of the Hague Conferences deals with the destruction or seizure of the enemy's property, which is prohibited unless imperatively demanded by the necessities of war. Such was precisely the spirit advocated by the military authorities of ancient India. When a country was conquered, the victor was urged to protect it from useless plunder, showing that centuries before Rousseau the Hindus anticipated his conception of war as a contest waged only against the military forces of States, not between their civil members. "Refrain from profitless deeds of hostility," is a maxim quoted by Bhishma, "and also from insolent speech."* But if a kingdom showed unrelenting hostility, then the attacking Power should do its work thoroughly, "slaughtering the population, pulling up the roads, setting fire to and knocking down its houses."† Mildness where mildness sufficed, sternness where occasion demanded—such was the Hindu precept. A king, according to Bhishma, was to be "keen-visioned as a vulture, motionless as a crane, watchful as a dog, brave as a lion, and make his way easily and unfalteringly through the dominions of his enemies."‡

According to Western rules, the person of an ambassador is inviolable. So it was in ancient India. To slay an envoy was to plunge one's

* Santi Parva ciii. 10.

† *Ibid.* cxl. 61.

‡ *Ibid.* 62.

self in hell, and to lay sin of the deepest dye upon the souls of one's ancestors.* Neither could envoys be imprisoned.† There were many others, also, to whom the Hindus extended the privileges of inviolability and mercy. Among those who could not be slain were one who was sleeping, thirsty, or weary, or whose armour and weapons had fallen off, a fugitive, one who was walking along a road unaware of danger, one who was eating or drinking, the insane, the mortally wounded, one who was greatly enfeebled by wounds, who lingered trustfully, who was absorbed in grief, foraging parties, camp-followers, and servants.‡ Old men, children, and women, were not to be killed.§ Even in modern warfare one sometimes reads in the newspapers of cases in which women and children have been killed because proper precautions had not been taken to prevent such inhuman acts. But humanity demands that women and children should not be slain even through the neglect of the combatants.

War indemnities were evidently paid by the conquered kingdoms. The ancient Hindus had also, as I have said, rules respecting the confiscation of the property of the vanquished. Cows taken by force from the enemy were to be given to the learned. Bulls similarly captured were to be put to agricultural work or else restored

* Santi Parva lxxxv. 26, 27.

† Udyoga Parva lxxxvii.

‡ Santi Parva c. 27-29.

§ *Ibid.* xcvi. 47.

to their owners.* A conqueror was to display both severity and mildness. "Before striking the blow, and while striking, speak gracious words; having struck, show pity towards the conquered."† Like Milton, they believed "who overcomes by force hath overcome but half his foe." The people were to be protected from pillage, slaughter, and pain;‡ but a conquered foe was to be kept in submission, as a father masters and restrains his son, without anger and without destroying him.§ "Put no trust in a vanquished foe,"|| was another Hindu maxim; and "when one's enemies have been subdued, one should not repose in peace."¶ "A king should bring over a hero to his side by showing appreciation of him; a coward by making him afraid; an avaricious man by bestowing wealth upon him; and with an equal he should wage war."** Evidently the ancient Hindus thought that when two peoples, equally strong, were both pursuing the same object, no peace conferences could decide between them. That in the end force rules the world was admitted by the ancient Hindus. "I do not perceive any creature in the world," said Arjuna, the mighty warrior, foremost in battle, consoling his brother for the slaughter in a recent combat, "which maintains life without inflicting any injury upon

* Santi Parva xcvi. 6.

† *Ibid.* cii. 33, 34.

‡ *Ibid.* xcvii. 8.

§ *Ibid.* cii. 32.

|| *Ibid.* ciii. 30.

¶ *Ibid.* 12.

** *Ibid.* cxl. 63.

others. One creature lives upon another, the stronger upon the more feeble. The mungoose eats the mouse, the cat eats the mungoose, the dog kills the cat, the dog is eaten by the spotted leopard. Lo, all things are swallowed up by the Destroyer at his coming! This mobile and immobile universe is food for all that lives. Such is the decree of the gods." * So the ancient Hindus believed in the necessity of war, though it was not with them a passion overriding all wish for peace. They had precise methods of carrying on war, as they had of insuring peace, but the same doubt assailed the Hindu philosophers as about thirty centuries later troubled the Dutch thinker Grotius, the founder of Western international law: would the Law of Nations ever override the Law of Nature? Would man ever be able to find out a *humane* test of the survival of the fittest, a question which Nature decides through struggle? India from early ages was a prey to the attacks of rival races, and slaughter of their enemies was in their opinion justifiable when it was performed to defend their kingdom, or to free the land from the foes of religion. Battle in such cases was with them a virtue, and the warrior who met with death in combat was to be envied by his fellows.† "The hero who for his ruler's sake fights valiantly in the forefront of the battle, and turns not his back in fear, comes to

* Santi Parva xv. 20-23.

† *Ibid.* xcix. 6.

those abodes of happiness that are mine,"* are words quoted by Bhishma as spoken by the deity Indra. Again, it is written in the epic : "One should never mourn for a hero slain in fight."† Deserion was punished by an ignominious death.‡

That ruses of war are allowable in modern combats is expressly set forth in Convention IV., Art. 24, of the Hague Conferences. The ancient Hindus were likewise honest enough to acknowledge that it was not always possible to carry on warfare in a perfectly open manner. "Both kinds of wisdom, straight and crooked, should be at the king's command," said Bhishma somewhat quaintly ; " yet though he be conversant with it, he should not employ the crooked wisdom as aggressor. He may use it to oppose the dangers that come upon him."§ And he instanced the methods by which a foe may spread disaffection among his adversary's army or subjects, arguing that for a king to employ similar ruses in self-defence is lawful and right. There was fair and unfair fighting, according to the Hindus. Fair means were to be met by fair means, but deceit might be met by deceit.|| Present-day warfare sees nothing underhand in hurling bombs from an airship or aeroplane, in the use of torpedoes, in blowing "the bottom out of an ironclad at midnight," or in laying mines, those most murderous and treacherous agents

* Santi Parva xcvi. 27. † *Ibid.* 43. ‡ *Ibid.* xcvii. 21.

§ *Ibid.* c. 5.

|| *Ibid.* xcv. 9.

of naval warfare ; so the moral consciousness of belligerent nations has not advanced much since the days of Bhishma, 1500 B.C., who, if he had lived now, would probably have permitted the use of bombs, submarines and mines, but would doubtless have labelled them “crooked wisdom.”

The ethical view which the ancient Hindus took of war acquires greater weight when it is remembered that far from being undisciplined groups of marauders, their fighting men were banded into large, well-trained armies, whose main divisions consisted of four kinds of forces : (1) regulars, (2) allies, (3) mercenaries, and (4) irregulars, each made up of eight parts—cars, elephants, horses, officers, infantry, camp-followers, spies, and ensigns.* They had rules for different formations of troops ; they had armour, weapons, signals, and badges of many kinds ; they had systems of reward for valour ;† they had doctors with drugs, etc., in attendance on the camps, corresponding to the Army Medical Corps and the Red Cross Society ; they had envoys who were sent to treat with the foe. Moreover, in his plans for army organization Bhishma anticipated by about thirty centuries the scheme of Stein and Scharnhorst to make the military profession a school for the best citizen. Under the class Kshatriya the ancient Hindus included what Germany understands by the Landwehr and Landsturm. The

* Sabha Parva v.

† Santi Parva c. 30, 31.

Hindus had something like conscription in those days, but differing from what is understood by the term conscription in the West. According to the Western system, a nation at arms is literally a whole nation at arms, whereas the ancient Hindus divided the nation into four great classes, one of which, the Kshatriya, was the warrior class, every member of which was under the law of conscription, having to train and keep himself ready to fight for his country. But most astonishing of all to the Western reader is probably the fact that gunpowder and firearms were used by the ancient warriors of India centuries before they were employed in the West. The invention of gunpowder is commonly associated with the names of two European monks, the Englishman, Roger Bacon, in the thirteenth century A.D.; and Berthold Schwartz, of Freiburg, in the fourteenth century. But according to the famous German scholar, Gustav Oppert, the Hindus used small guns and cannon centuries before the Christian Era.* The Mahabharata contains mention of instruments of war which several critics of authority do not doubt were cannon and guns. "Engines for hurling balls and bullets"† are described, and "*Tutagudas* equipped with

* "On the Weapons, Army Organization, and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus," by Gustav Oppert, p. 45. 1880. Trübner and Co., London.

† Vana Parva xv.

wheels, and worked by means of air expansion, emitting a loud noise like the roar of mighty piled-up clouds.”* There are also two very ancient treatises on warfare mentioning guns and actual gunpowder—the *Sukraniti* and *Nitiprakasika*—which are accepted as genuine ancient Sanskrit compositions by Gustav Oppert, and which he places as contemporary with, if not anterior to, Manu’s *Dharmashastra*. He considers it proved that the oldest documents mentioning and describing gunpowder are found in India and written in Sanskrit. The musket (*nalika*), as described in his translation from the *Sukraniti*, has “a straight body, is thin-limbed, and hollow in the middle. It pierces the vital parts, is dark . . . When it is to be used, it is taken up, ignited, and pierces the mark.”† The *Sukraniti*, according to Oppert, also distinguishes between small and large weapons, those carried by soldiers, and those borne on cars, the latter being evidently cannon.‡ The same Sanskrit work describes minutely how to clean and load a gun, and how to prepare gunpowder (*agnichurna*, literally “firepowder”), giving the ingredients for the latter as saltpetre, sulphur, charcoal, and other specific substances, out of which, it remarks, experts make gunpowder

* *Vana Parva* xlii.

† “On the Weapons, Army Organization, and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus,” by Gustav Oppert, p. 14.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 106.

in many ways.* I would remind sceptics, who marvel why the secret was kept so long in India, that the various recipes for explosives are, even in the present day, veiled in as much mystery as possible by their inventors, and, what is perhaps even more to the point, the Hindu simply acted in this respect as he has done with regard to everything else that he has achieved. The West finds it hard to understand why a people should not care for self-advertisement, yet the Hindu has a wonderful literature, marvellous systems of philosophy, a religion well worthy of the attention of the Occident, and all comparatively unknown to, and indifferent to a hearing in, the West. Among the Hindus the proselytizing spirit is conspicuous by its absence.

So about thirty-five centuries ago the ancient inhabitants of India had peace precepts, rules for fair fighting, and armies organized on similar principles to those used in modern warfare ; they had their conveners of peace conferences, their Sarpi and Grotius, their Thomasius and Turgot, their Stein and Cavour, their Bismarck and Balfour. Now I propose to point out that great strategists were not wanting among them. Taking, again, the Mahabharata as my authority, I find therein recorded numerous

* "On the Weapons, Army Organization, and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus," by Gustav Oppert, pp. 106-108.

actions and theories in which the ancient Hindus anticipated famous Western military authorities like Clausewitz, whose work, "Vom Kriege," is considered the foundation of the modern strategy of war. It is impossible to enter into details here, but a glimpse of the general policy which guided those early Hindu fighters will show that some of their principles were the very same which Bismarck studied more than thirty centuries later, and which under Moltke led the Prussian arms to victory.

War, according to Clausewitz, is a part of policy. It should be entered upon when every possible preparation has been made for it, and when it is considered expedient. These two conditions of power and expediency were over and over again instilled into the ancient Hindus. They were a general precept of every day, as well as a special policy of their war-lords. "Before entering upon an act," said Vidura, "one should consider the ability of the agent, the character of the act itself, and its object, for all acts depend on these considerations."* Also: "He who, ignorant of his own strength desires an object difficult to acquire, without adopting suitable means to acquire it, is held to be bereft of wisdom."† To make every possible preparation was held to be as necessary a preliminary to war in ancient India as it was in the opinion of Clausewitz. "When a king has a

* Udyoga Parva xxxiii.

† *Ibid.* xxxii.

mighty army," said Bhishma, "with numerous horse, elephants, cars, foot-soldiers, and engines of war, all loyal to his service, when he considers he is on the whole superior in many points to his enemy, then he should openly and unhesitatingly attack the foe."*

Having made all possible preparation, Clausewitz advocates the waging of war vehemently, with strength and speed, at the decisive point. Unexpected and better preparation for war, and unexpected attack, he holds to be most important principles of strategy. Compare with this the method of military operations advocated by Bhishma: "A king who is *sure of his own strength* should, in command of a large force, confidently and bravely give the order to advance, *without making known his destination*, against one who has no friends or allies, or who is already at war with another."† Twentieth-century Europe has found the same principle worthy of adoption. Such was Montenegro's policy, who seized the opportunity when Turkey was engaged in concluding her struggle with Italy to make an attack upon the Porte. There are many other Hindu precepts regarding unexpected preparation for war. "The gathering together of troops for achieving victory," said Bhishma, "should be concealed."‡ "He who wishes to destroy an enemy should not put that enemy on his guard."§

* Santi Parva ciii. 37, 38.

† *Ibid.* lxix. 19, 20.

‡ *Ibid.* lviii. 19, 20.

§ *Ibid.* ciii. 8.

The law of expediency laid down by Clausewitz was the essence of Hindu policy: "When the time comes, make peace with a foe; when the time comes, wage war against a friend."* Decisive action was an important maxim with Hindu strategists: "A king should wait long and then destroy his enemy. . . . When the occasion comes, he should attack him without missing the opportunity."† Compare also: "A powerful enemy should be courted by the weak . . . but slain directly one has power enough to do so."‡

The Mahabharata war experts had other maxims, too, the truth of which has been evinced by modern history. "Seek not to cross that which is in fact uncrossable," said Bhishma. "Take not from the enemy that which he will be able to get back again."§ "He who desires prosperity," said Vidura, "takes only that which can be taken, and which after it is taken can be assimilated, and may in the end be of benefit."|| Students of history will remember brilliant modern victories which have been rendered less effective than they should have been through inability of the attacking power to follow up its success.

To sum up, the ancient Hindus held in theory that war is inferior to conciliation, that it often violates the principles of humanity, that every-

* Santi Parva cxxxviii. 200.

† *Ibid.* ciii. 18, 19.

‡ Udyoga Parva xxxvii.

§ Santi Parva cxl. 69.

|| Udyoga Parva xxxiii.

thing possible should be done to avoid it. How did this moral consciousness affect their practice? Read the Mahabharata, and you will find that after long perorations from Bhishma and many other experts in the rules of peace and war, the ancient Hindus, having well considered the expediency, the humanity, and all the blessings of peace, betook themselves to arms, and there, about 1500 b.c., on the plains of Kurukshetra, near modern Delhi, they fought, perhaps, the bloodiest combat on record, for the carnage at Kurukshetra far exceeded the combined massacres of Waterloo and the Crimea. History repeats itself. In Europe, in spite of the Church's efforts to preserve peace, no "Truce of God" has ever been able permanently to prevent the shedding of blood. For some time the Papacy acted as mediators, and great Pontiffs, like the early Gregories, Leos, and Innocents, worthily proclaimed the spirit of the teachings of Christ. The Reformation neither diminished the horrors of war, nor increased the incentives to peace. On the other hand, "as the Renaissance progressed, the system developed in diplomacy, and war became more and more vile. The fundamental textbook was Machiavelli's 'Prince.'"^{*} In the seventeenth century Grotius laid the foundation of Western international law. Bynkershoek followed, and, inspired by Grotius, took up the cause of peace with great

* "Seven Great Statesmen," by Andrew D. White, p. 86.

earnestness. The names of Vittoria, Soto, Ayala, Gentilis, Suarez, also stand out in unforgettable prominence in connection with the development of humane policy in international law. In the nineteenth century came various conferences on the subject of war, and lastly the Hague Conferences. What is the result to-day of all these Western deliberations ? The very same that ensued thirty-five centuries previously in ancient India.

“ Hell is empty,
And all the devils are here.”

The questions of arbitration courts, limitation of armaments, and other methods for peaceful settlement of international disputes, have been before Europe, and still the answer given by its nations is to make themselves ready for battle. Is the Hague Court of Arbitration for practical purposes a dead letter ? Are the Great Powers only great for war, and not for peace ? A tribunal is there. The questions in dispute between Turkey and the Little Peoples could have been laid before it ; but the years have brought the nations no nearer to the philosophic mind. Like the ancient Hindus, the moderns have their peace precepts and their religious prohibitions, “ Thou shalt not kill,” “ Thou shalt not steal,” etc., and yet it is doubtful whether the Commandments or the policeman more effectively restrain from murder and theft. Not

justice, but force guided by expediency, still seems to rule the world, and even now its leading principle is Bhishma's own : "When the time comes, make peace with a foe ; when the time comes, wage war against a friend." The Law of Nature triumphs over the Law of Nations.

CHAPTER II

THE INDIAN PRINCES

THE importance of India to the British Empire is a commonplace of politics. Though “Perish India!” has been heard as the expression of pessimism, it has never been the cry of more than a small party. There are too many persons and interests concerned in the maintenance of British rule in India for its abandonment to be seriously contemplated within a period to which anyone can assign a limit. Before India has learnt to govern herself, England would have no moral right to leave the country to become a bone of contention and the prey of foreign aggression. India furnishes an outlet for British trade—trade described by Lord Cromer as the financial asset which counterbalances the burthen of governing the country;* a training-ground for the British army; a field of employment for a large class of her *alumni*; above all, her size, her history, situation, and all the circumstances of the case appeal to the imagination, and in the

* “Ancient and Modern Imperialism,” by the Earl of Cromer, p. 45.

view of foreign nations of the world generally, constitute the claim of Great Britain to the possession of an Empire. The destinies of the two countries are, humanly speaking, bound up together.

But a theoretical union requires some kind of material cement. Between England and her self-governing Colonies—Canada, Australia, New Zealand—there exists the Imperial tie of blood, religion, and a common language. Such a tie between England and India is, from the nature of things, impossible ; the blood, religion, and language of the two countries are different, and cannot be amalgamated. The antipathy arising from difference of colour has some effect. “The inability of European Powers to assimilate subject races is especially marked in the case of the British.”* So writes Lord Cromer, who has also pointed out that “ there has been no thorough fusion, no real assimilation, between the British and their alien subjects, and, so far as we can now predict, the future will in this respect be but a repetition of the past.”† There are so many influences militating against a bond of affection, that it is practically impossible to expect that one can be developed. It remains that the bond between England and India is political.

It is competent to the Paramount Power to

* “Ancient and Modern Imperialism,” by the Earl of Cromer, p. 73.

† *Ibid.*, p. 88.

improve, as it pleases, the existing political bond between England and her Dependency. On this principle, presumably, the recent reforms in India have aimed at the wider admission of Indians to political power and influence. But, after all, these changes have not greatly struck the imagination of India, and until that is done the political effect will not correspond to the risk and labour involved. Mr. Disraeli's dictum about touching and satisfying the imagination of Oriental nations remains as potent to-day as when it was uttered.* He said: "Never mind what were your intentions. The question is : What were their [Indians'] thoughts, what their inferences ?" No one can better explain the thoughts of the Indian millions than their natural rulers, the Indian Princes, for through confidence the latter know the innermost thoughts of the former. As Lord Curzon pointed out in November, 1902, in his speech at the State banquet at Jaipur : "The Native States have that indefinable quality, endearing them to the people, that arises from their being born of the soil." †

But, granted that no fusion of the races or masses is practicable, there is nothing to prevent the aristocracies of the two countries being brought into close relations for political purposes, and there is very good reason for recommending that some measure with this object

* "Disraeli," by Walter Sichel, p. 219.

† "Lord Curzon in India," by Sir Thomas Raleigh, p. 222.

should be adopted. Few people in England have any idea of the position of the great Princes of India, of their influence over their subjects, and the respect, amounting to awe, with which they are regarded by the masses, even in British India. The population of India, as a whole, at the Census of 1911, was about 315 millions, of whom 70 millions were in the Native States. The area of the Native States is more than one-third of India. Their number is about 600. Some of them have their own mint to coin money, their own Postal Department, and inflict capital punishment without an appeal to the British authorities. “The important fact for them is their admission into the political system of the British Protectorate, and the assurance by Statute that all Treaties made by the said East India Company shall be binding on Her Majesty, to which may be added the solemn declaration contained in the Sanads of adoption conferred after the Mutiny of 1857 upon every important ruling chief, that Her Majesty is desirous that the Government of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who now govern their own territories should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued.” * “The Protectorate,” it is stated, “is almost exclusively the creation of the last century and a half, and has been built up, like British India itself, out of the ruins left by the Moghul

* *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. iv., p. 63.

Empire.”* The British policy towards the Native States has varied at different periods. Their rights and obligations have been established by written agreements, † by tacit consent, or by usage. The Princes are not independent Sovereigns ; their powers depend on the limitations imposed by the Paramount Power, the British Government. “ In the case of every Native State, the British Government, as the Paramount Power—(1) exercises exclusive control over the foreign relations of the State ; (2) assumes a general but limited responsibility for the internal peace of the State ; (3) assumes a special responsibility for the safety and welfare of British subjects resident in the State ; and (4) requires subordinate co-operation in the task of resisting foreign aggression and maintaining internal order.” ‡

The same writer states, in conclusion, that “the result of all these limitations on the powers of the Native Indian States is that for purposes of international law they occupy a very special and exceptional position. . . . The paramount supremacy of the Government of India presupposes and implies the subordination of the Native States.” § Thus, though not British subjects, the Indian Princes are subordinate to the Government of India.

* The *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. iv., p. 68.

† *Ibid.*, p. 83.

‡ “Government of India,” by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, p. 139.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

Whatever their exact position may be from a strictly legal point of view, there can be no doubt of their practical importance. Lord Canning, after the Mutiny, said : "These patches of native government served as a breakwater to the storm, which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave."* Lord Curzon said in 1899 that "the Native Chief has become by our policy an integral factor in the Imperial organization of India. He is concerned no less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner."† On another occasion he said : "The Native States are no longer detached appendages of Empire, but its participators and instruments. They have ceased to be the architectural adornments of the Imperial edifice, and have become the pillars that help to sustain the main roof."‡ In July, 1906, in the House of Commons, Lord Morley said : "I sometimes think we make a mistake in not attaching the weight we ought to these powerful Princes as standing powers in India. . . . It is a question whether we do not persist in holding these powerful men too lightly." More than thirty years ago Lord Lytton drew the attention of Lord Beaconsfield and of Lord Salisbury to the policy of enlisting the sympathies of the native

* "India," by Sir John Strachey, 1903, p. 462.

† "Lord Curzon in India," by Sir Thomas Raleigh, p. 217.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 227.

aristocracy. To the former he wrote : "Here is a great feudal aristocracy which we cannot get rid of, which we are avowedly anxious to conciliate and command, but which we have as yet done next to nothing to rally round the British Crown as its *feudal* head."* To the latter he wrote : "Politically speaking, the Indian peasantry is an inert mass. If it ever moves at all, it will move in obedience, not to its British benefactors, but to its Native Chiefs and Princes, however tyrannical they may be. . . . The Indian Chiefs are not a mere *noblesse*: they are a powerful aristocracy. To secure completely, and efficiently utilize, the Indian aristocracy is, I am convinced, the most important problem now before us."†

The British Government in India have never attempted or desired to move the masses, and have no means of doing so if they wished. Official power would be but a cold and crude instrument for the purpose ; its efficiency would depend entirely on the force of the sanction behind it. The Indian Princes, on the other hand, can work through religious influences, which operate speedily and effectively on the minds of the masses ; such influences can be put in motion by the priestly class at the will of an Indian Prince. And this might, indeed, be done

* "Lord Lytton's Indian Administration," by Lady Betty Balfour, p. 108.

† *Ibid.*, p. 109.

secretly without the knowledge of the British Government, who have been before now taken by surprise. Various schemes for the utilization of the Indian Princes have accordingly been propounded from time to time. Lord Lytton suggested the establishment of an Indian Privy Council, restricted, at all events in the first instance, to the great Chiefs, and empowered to consult with and advise the Viceroy from time to time on general matters of State.* Opposition to the scheme was offered, and the only result was that some of the leading Princes were designated "Councillors of the Empress."

More recent proposals for the institution of an Advisory Council of Notables have fallen through. It must be acknowledged that of recent years, whilst unrest has been rampant throughout nearly every Province of British India, the Native States have been conspicuous as oases of peace and quiet, in which they have shown the Government of India how law and order can be maintained by the exercise of authority and without extra expenditure. The Indian Prince knows best what suits his countrymen, and, if success is any criterion, he can claim approval.

"In the main, the Protected States of India have made real and steady progress in good government during the last fifty years. Notable proofs of their loyalty to the British Crown

* "Lord Lytton's Indian Administration," by Lady Betty Balfour, p. 111.

were given in 1885, when the great Native States made spontaneous offer of their swords and treasure for the defence of the North-West frontier of India ; in 1890 in the formation of the Imperial Service Troops ; and, again, at the two Jubilee celebrations of her late Majesty's reign, on the occasion of her lamented death, and at the Coronation Durbar of 1903.” *

The contemplated reform of the House of Lords may well serve as an occasion for carrying out the following proposal which I make. It may well be assumed that it will be determined to reduce the number of hereditary Peers summoned to Parliament, and to provide by some system for the choice of other persons, whether as the ex-holders of high offices, or as representatives of new electoral colleges, or as representing the self-governing Colonies, or to be selected on some other grounds, to be Peers of Parliament for life or for a limited time. My suggestion is that, when the necessary Bill comes to be introduced, it should provide for the selection of a certain number of the ruling Indian Princes or their heirs-apparent to be Peers of the House of Lords on the same tenure—that is, for the same period, whether for life, or for the duration of a Parliament, or for a limited number of years, as the other chosen Peers are to be summoned for.

I believe that such a measure would appeal to

* “ East India (Fifty Years' Administration),” 1909, p. 33.

the imagination of the Indian peoples, and that they would recognize that at last something real was being done to bring their greatest men into the prominence to which their position entitles them. This would not be recognized as a rash innovation or as a “reckless adaptation of Western ideas to Eastern requirements,”* but as a genuine offer to the Indian aristocracy of political fusion with the English aristocracy. The existence of the Lords is perfectly well known in India. Every peasant has heard of the Lat (Lord) Sahib ; the Bara Lat, the Viceroy ; the Chota Lat, the Lieutenant-Governor ; the Jangi Lat, the Commander-in-Chief ; and, though he does not know the personal name, he knows the designation of the Viceroy’s office, while he regards the Lat Sahib as being of a higher jat (caste) than the ordinary officers and Englishmen. Only the educated classes know anything of members of the House of Commons. Lord Curzon said in the debate on Lord Rosebery’s motion for the reform of the House of Lords : “If you ask the Princes of India to which House they look with greater respect and greater sympathy, I very much doubt whether they will reply : ‘The House that sits across the way.’ The House of Lords is regarded throughout India with enormous veneration and respect. This is largely due to the fact that the composi-

* “Ancient and Modern Imperialism,” by the Earl of Cromer, p. 70.

tion of this House rests on a basis which is familiar to every stratum of Indian society."

I do not propose to compare the numbers of the populations of the Native States with those of the self-governing Colonies, whom, in some way or other, it is considered desirable to have represented in a reformed House of Lords. Any such comparison would not be to the disadvantage of the Native States. It would be easy to put forward the objections—in my opinion worthless—that India is not a self-governing Colony, but a Dependency, and that the ties with the Mother-Country are not the same in both cases. The rejoinder is obvious : that the countries are all constituents of the same Empire, and that it is as essential to strengthen the political bond with a Dependency, which may in the last resort rebel, as the ties with self-governing Colonies which may dis sever their connection with the Mother-Country.

Whatever may have been the origin of the House of Lords, it has now to be regarded in its present condition as a factor in practical politics. The tendency of the proposed reforms is to place it on an Imperial basis, as the second Chamber of the Parliament of the Empire, and to collect into it a body of Peers who will practically represent the different parts and interests of the Empire. Unless the real aristocracy of India, the Indian Princes, are represented in an Imperial Parliament the most important portion of the

Empire will be omitted. There have been two Indian Members in the House of Commons, and other Indians may hereafter be elected for other constituencies. There are two Indians in the Secretary of State's Council, and there is an Indian gentleman on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. These few appointments to official places in England in no way meet the aspirations of the Ruling Chiefs who, if anything is done to enlist their services, can fairly claim English positions worthy of, if not exactly corresponding to, their status in India. As they have been invited to England to swell the Jubilee processions, their share in the Empire has been acknowledged. It would be a much more real recognition of their importance and position that they should be represented in the House of Lords for a useful purpose. If it is objected that they are not servants of the Crown, and are therefore ineligible for seats in the House of Lords, the objection comes too late, for some of the Ruling Chiefs have, as I have said, been already invited to England in consideration of their status in India, and for more than forty years some of them have from time to time been nominated as additional members of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India. I believe that such power of nomination still remains with the Viceroy ; moreover, the British Government has, by Orders in Council, recognized its responsibility for, and asserted its

control over, subjects of Native Indian States resorting to foreign countries.* In India the accepted sovereignty of the British Crown involves a partition of the aggregate of the attributes of sovereignty between the Suzerain and the Prince.† Accordingly, no ruler of a Native State can be described as independent. Such a technical objection might easily be overcome by providing in the Statute (which will be required) that only Ruling Chiefs in India of the highest rank, and possessing the fullest powers, in alliance by treaty with the Governor-General, should be eligible for seats in the House of Lords. They were not long ago consulted by Lord Minto as to the best method of combating sedition in India. In the scheme the semi-independent Himalayan Princes should not be forgotten. One of them, Nepal, is very important, for Nepal supplies the flower of the native army, the Gurkhas. As the Gurkhas are not British subjects, like the rest of the native army, that is all the more reason that their imagination should be touched.

From the military point of view, the importance of the Indian Princes can hardly be exaggerated. It is a well-known fact that the Nizam's Government prevented the Mutiny from spreading into Southern India. Even now the Indian Princes are of great importance from the military point of view. In case of an attack on

* "The Government of India," by Sir C. P. Ilbert, p. 141.

† *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. iv., p. 61.

the North-West frontier of India, reinforcements from England, after they arrive at Bombay, have to pass through the territories of about twenty Indian Princes before they can reach Peshawar, so inextricably interlaced are the territories of British India and the Indian Princes.

Persons purporting to represent Indian interests in the House of Lords should have a great stake in India, and no one could be considered to have a greater stake in the stability of British Rule in India than a Ruling Chief allied by treaty with the Governor-General. Those upon whom the British Government have conferred the titles of Maharajas and Nawabs, either as rich landowners or as retired officials, would not, according to the proposal as formulated, be eligible, as no alliances or treaties are made with them. If an ordinary citizen of India, if any commoner, if anyone below the rank of a Ruling Prince, should be made a Peer and summoned to the House of Lords, the fact would not appeal to the Indian peoples. They look to a man's origin, his ancestry, his natural rank, not to his being created a noble by the English Sovereign.

The number of Indian Princes to be called to the House of Lords should be fixed by Statute. Probably six would be sufficient, and this number would easily admit of Hindus, Mahomedans, or Sikhs, being selected. Their number would not materially increase the House of Lords, or infringe on the proportion of members to be

chosen for a reformed House. The nominations should be entirely in the hands of the Viceroy of India. Attendance in England should not be compulsory, but failure to take advantage of a nomination for two consecutive years might be held to render it null and void, and a fresh nomination should be made for the remainder of the term of the original nomination. There should be no objection to a repetition or a continuance of an original nomination for another similar period (according to the tenure to be provided for all the chosen members of a reformed House of Lords). Any Ruling Chiefs of the highest rank, selected for this honour of representing Indian interests in the House of Lords, would have no difficulty in meeting the cost which would devolve upon them. Lord Curzon, in a well-known circular, objected to Indian Princes coming to England without his permission, to spend on personal pleasures the revenues of their States much required for their development. No such objection could apply to Indian Princes chosen to represent Indian interests in the House of Lords for purposes of high politics. It might be provided that an heir-apparent—the Rajkumar, or the *wali'ahd*—should, when of full age, be eligible to be nominated to the House of Lords, even during the lifetime of his father. There are precedents in the English practice. Lord Curzon himself supplies one. The training would be excellent for the young Nobles ; the

influence on their character would, in all likelihood, be very beneficial.

It may be asked whether such a scheme as I have ventured to outline would have the approval of those for whom it is designed. I cannot imagine that they would not welcome it. The Indian Princes are not in the habit of agitating, like the National Congress or the Moslem League, for concessions or additional favours from the Government; but they have shown their willingness to avail themselves of opportunities for co-operating with the Government of India in important affairs, such as plague, famine, suppression of sedition, to which allusion has already been made. The incident of the Maharaja Sindhia's proceeding to China with a special steamer at the time of the Boxer rebellion will not be forgotten.

The Indian Princes are not slow to appreciate the fact that fiscal laws passed by the Imperial Parliament affect the Native States as well as British India; they have their own fiscal laws and sources of revenue, which may depend upon the measures adopted in British India. For instance, the question of Tariff Reform will affect them enormously in their financial interests. The change in the opium policy of the British Government has seriously affected the revenue of some of the Native States. England has, in a spirit of righteousness (and of generosity with other people's money), ruled that the supply

of provision opium from India to China is to cease in ten years, provided always that China simultaneously suppresses the cultivation of poppy within her borders. We have heard it stated that "it is no secret that the Indian Princes whose States derive a portion of their revenues from land under poppy are righteously indignant at the manner in which the decision to sacrifice the opium revenue of India was arrived at. Not only were they not consulted, but they were not even notified, and they first learned that part of their revenue was to be destroyed through the newspapers." *

"Comparatively few Native States are concerned, but the value of their exports of opium has in the past exceeded £3,000,000 annually. They claim that they were exporting opium to China—possibly in limited quantities—when Vasco da Gama anchored off Calicut. What is unquestionable is that the East India Company entered into competition with them, practically forced a large extension of poppy cultivation in Bengal, and eventually levied heavy imposts upon the opium produced in the Native States, thereby endorsing the continuance of the trade. The States were not consulted when the present agreements were entered into. We decided to extinguish their revenue from opium without asking their consent. Some of the States are not only opposed to the extinction of the China

* *The Times* of April 19, 1910.

trade, but have formally protested against it with the utmost vigour. More than one of the smaller territories will be rendered almost bankrupt by the new policy. Even so prosperous a State as Gwalior will be seriously embarrassed. Land under poppy produces vastly more revenue to the Native States than land under other crops. The Princes concerned are asking for compensation, although they declare it will be almost impossible adequately to compensate the large numbers of cultivators who will be sorely affected by the change. Their claim is undeniably justified. Is British India to be called upon to compensate them, in addition to the heavy losses she is already destined to sustain, or will Great Britain take upon herself part of the cost of her somewhat belated recognition of a great moral issue ? We compensate the owners of inns when their licences are extinguished. We paid the cost of freeing the slaves in the West Indies. Are we to treat the Princes and Chiefs of India less generously ? And are we to bear no share of the burden which will fall upon British India until the inevitable financial stress is eased ? We trust that in the satisfaction likely to be produced by the new Peking Agreement these important considerations will not be overlooked. The general tendency has been to look at the opium question from a limited point of view, without regard to all the responsibilities it implies." *

* *The Times* of May 9, 1911.

This is not the first time that the interests of India or some of her inhabitants have been sacrificed by England to satisfy the exigencies of party or a cry of the faddists. The presence of some of the Indian Princes in the House of Lords, though they might have been outvoted, would, at any rate, have led to an exposure of the true character and effects of the whole arrangement.

It might happen that on account of ill-health or other reasons an Indian Prince, though chosen, might not find it convenient to attend the House of Lords. For the time he would relapse into the condition of the "backwoodsmen" Peers. Should he repeat his absenteeism another session, he would automatically, as already suggested, lose his seat in the House.

It may be said that the Indian Princes, being thus encouraged to come to England and attend the Imperial Parliament which controls Viceroys and all other officials, will learn to look to the Crown and the Secretary of State, rather than to the Viceroy, as the chief authority over them, and that the position of the Viceroy will accordingly be lowered. It is well to recognize facts. All educated India knows that the position of the Viceroy is not what it used to be ; all questions of importance are understood to be settled in telegraphic communication with the Secretary of State, who has the real power, and exercises it. A Viceroy's position will not be materially

affected by a few Princes proceeding annually to attend the session of the House of Lords. On the contrary, as they will be chosen and will be eligible for renomination by the Viceroy, they must look to him as the authority whose displeasure is not to be lightly incurred.

It must be acknowledged that Lord Morley in his Indian reforms has not touched the Indian Princes in any way. The old Eastern foundations are being undermined gradually, or, to put it differently, a new superstructure is being erected; and it is quite open to the English in reconstruction to add another layer of Western cement to the political edifice. In the Proclamation of the late King-Emperor to the Princes and peoples of India, dated November 2, 1908, issued while Lord Morley was Secretary of State, it was written: "The rights and privileges of the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs have been respected, preserved, and guarded, and the loyalty of their allegiance has been unswerving." It was also said farther on: "From the first the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic

satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power." The same principles would apply to the Indian Princes. Their incorporation as a class by representatives chosen to sit in the House of Lords would be a wise satisfaction, not of a claim, but of legitimate aspirations for a recognition of the great position they occupy in India. Lord Meath, whose name is familiar throughout the Empire in connection with the Empire Day movement, in discussing the subject, remarked : "Canada is already represented in the House of Lords. Why should not India also have her peers in that Assembly?"* Lord Curzon, in his Edinburgh address on "The Place of India in the Empire," said : "Guide her national aspirations into prudent channels, give her a sense of pride in the Imperial partnership, place her at the 'high table' in the banquet-hall of the Empire States." I am at a loss to conceive how these great ideas could be more properly and worthily carried out than by admitting a certain number of chosen Indian Princes, as Peers, to sit in a reformed House of Lords with their British compeers.

* *The Nineteenth Century*, May, 1894.

CHAPTER III

THE SIKH ANAND MARRIAGE ACT

THE history of the passage through the Governor General's Legislative Council of the Bill to give legal sanction to a marriage ceremony called "Anand," common among the Sikhs, is an illustration of modern methods in India, and shows how the Government, with every desire to meet the wishes of the Sikh community, failed to make the most of its opportunities for attracting loyalty and good-will. The Bill was introduced into the Council at Simla on October 30, 1908, by the present Maharaja of Nabha (then the Honble. Tikka Sahib Ripudaman Singh), and was passed on October 22, 1909, when the Honble. Sirdar Sundar Singh had succeeded to the charge of the measure. But why the member who originally brought it forward was not allowed another period in the Council to enable him to complete his work has nowhere been explained. The point, which is one of some importance, will be dealt with again later.

At first sight it would seem that any legislation by the Government on such a subject as native

marriages must necessarily be an interference with the religious customs of the community concerned, and therefore a breach of the religious neutrality which the British Government in India proposes to observe. But this is by no means the first time that, to meet legal difficulties in connection with property and other matters, the Government has passed Acts in its Legislature on the subject of native marriages. Sir Courtenay Ilbert states that Warren Hastings' plan of 1772 directed, by its twenty-third rule, that "in all suits regarding marriage, inheritance, and caste, and other religious usages and institutions (implying that marriage and inheritance were treated as religious institutions), the laws of the Koran with respect to Mahomedans, and those of the Shaster with respect to Gentus (Hindus) shall be invariably adhered to."* This principle was reasserted in the Regulations of 1780 and 1793, but the same writer explains how the system of attempting to govern natives by native law broke down in India from various causes, so that the native law was eaten into at every point by English case law and by regulations of the Indian Legislatures.†

The result has been that the Government, while leaving alone the actual ritual—that is, the ceremonies and observances required at native marriages—has in certain cases passed laws

* "Government of India," 2nd edition, 1907, p. 325.

† *Ibid.*, p. 338.

regarding the civil marriages of natives. Acts XV of 1865, and III and XV of 1872, are cases in point. The Parsi community represented the necessity of defining and amending the law relating to marriage and divorce among them, and it was considered expedient that such law should be made conformable to the custom of that community, who had been allowed to prepare their own draft code of law on certain subjects applicable to themselves. The measure was based generally upon the usages existing and regarded as binding by the Parsis of Bombay and the mofussil, and was adapted to the feelings and requirements of those communities. It prohibited bigamy among the Parsis, and defined clearly the grounds for divorce and for judicial separation, and provided an inexpensive authority for the determination of such cases. The measure was in charge of Mr. H. L. Anderson, from Bombay. The Act, as passed on April 7, 1865, provided that no marriage was to be valid (1) if the contracting parties were related to each other in any of the degrees of consanguinity or affinity prohibited among Parsis, and set forth in a table after due inquiry; and (2) unless such marriage should be solemnized, according to the Parsi form or ceremony called "Asirbad," by a Parsi priest in the presence of two Parsi witnesses independently of such officiating priest; and (3) in the case of minors under twenty-one the previous consent of father or guardian was required. The

Act III of 1865 (of fifty-three sections) provided for the establishment of Parsi Chief Matrimonial Courts in the Presidency towns, and for District Courts, for matrimonial suits (on several grounds), for the children of the parties and for the mode of enforcing penalties. Similarly Act XXI of 1865 defined and amended the law relating to intestate succession among the Parsis, who had expressed a desire not to be included in the General Indian Succession Act of 1865. In 1868 Sir Henry Maine originally proposed to establish a system of civil marriages for all classes in India—that is, to pass an Act “to legalize marriages between certain natives of India not professing the Christian religion, and objecting to be married in accordance with the rites of the Hindu, Mahomedan, Buddhist, Parsi, or Jewish religion.”

The following explanation with regard to this measure is to be found in the “Life of Sir Henry Maine.”* The legality of persons not belonging to any of the recognized religions of India, and not conforming to the rites of any such religion, had long been doubtful. The members of the Brahma-Samaj, for instance, having become unwilling to contract marriage, or to allow their children to contract marriage, with the ceremonies practised among Hindus, consulted the Advocate-General of Bengal as to the legal consequences of so doing. He advised them that as

* By Sir M. E. Grant Duff, p. 285.

they had *quoad* their marriages ceased to be Hindus, but had not conformed to the discipline and rites of any religion recognized in India, it was clear that their marriages were invalid, and that the issue was illegitimate. After an interview which Mr. Maine had with Keshab Chandra Sen, the leader of the Brahma-Samaj, a Bill to legalize marriage between certain natives of British India not professing the Christian religion was framed and published. On moving, in November, 1868, that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, Mr. Maine replied to criticisms which had been passed upon the Bill, and expressed an opinion that by an oversight the right of contracting marriage had been omitted from Act XXI of 1850 (wrongly called the "Lex Loci Act"), which was the charter of religious liberty in India. It may be mentioned that in the course of his argument (justifying legislation for the civil marriage of natives) Mr. Maine referred to the Sikhs thus: "The civil rights of the Sikhs in the Panjab depend on the rules of their religion, because the Sikhs are considered to come under the description of Hindus within the meaning of the earlier Statutes. But are the marriages of Sikhs celebrated with orthodox regularity? and, if they are, where does orthodoxy begin and where does it end? I have mentioned the Sikhs, not for the purpose of starting this question, but on account of a fact which has become known to me since the Bill was pub-

lished, that the Sikh religion, in itself a modern religion, has a tendency to throw off sub-sects which adopt considerable novelties of doctrine and practice." These words foreshadowed the difficulties which have led to the enactment of the Sikh Anand Marriage Law. But objections having been taken to the great width of Sir Henry Maine's measure, it was subsequently determined to limit it to meet the wants of an individual sect, the Brahma-Samaj.

This Brahma Marriage Bill was much discussed. The two bodies, the Adi Brahma-Samaj, the Conservative Brahmos on the one hand, and the Sadharan, the Progressive Brahmos on the other, differed on certain points regarding their marriages. Efforts were made to render the measure acceptable to the Brahma community, and it was eventually passed on March 19, 1872, as an Act to provide a form of marriage in certain cases, which was more fully explained in the preamble to mean a form for persons not professing the Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi, Buddhist, Sikh, or Jaina religions, and to legalize certain marriages the validity of which was doubtful. There is no need to state the details of the twenty-one sections and three schedules. By this Act III of 1872, and by Act XV of the same year, the Indian Christian Marriage Act, which included the marriages of native Christians, the Government showed their willingness, whenever desired,

to legislate in order to put the marriage law of native communities on a legal basis without interfering with the religious ceremonial. Briefly, as Sir Courtenay Ilbert has stated,* the tendency of the Courts and of the Legislature has been to apply to the classes of natives of India who are neither Hindus nor Mahomedans—such as the Portuguese and Armenian Christians, the Parsis, the Sikhs, the Jains, the Buddhists of Burma and elsewhere, and the Jews—the spirit of Warren Hastings' rule, and to leave them in the enjoyment of family law, except so far as they have shown a disposition to place themselves under English law.

Apart from all other considerations affecting the question of legislation regarding civil marriages of natives, it must not be overlooked that the tendency of the age is to make legal provision for marriages by simple methods suitable to the people, rather than by the elaborate procedure of antiquated systems. The tendency has been to substitute some civil function, or at least to allow it as an alternative, for the religious marriage which was introduced by the medieval Church into Europe. There is no need to reproduce here the history of the English marriage law or the form of marriage before the Registrar without a ceremony in church. The question has been much discussed lately in connection with the recent Commission on the Divorce

* "Government of India," 2nd edition, 1907, p. 329.

Law, and some important suggestions, which doubtless represent the views of many thoughtful persons, may be found in a work on "Marriage and Divorce,"* lately published. The author points out that the institution of marriage was established in England, first by custom and then by law, long before the Church had anything to do with it, and that English law had always considered, and still considers, marriage in no other light than a civil contract (Blackstone, chap. xv.). It may have passed through several different forms before reaching that of monogamy. The only marriage known to the law of England was Christian marriage, which has been judicially defined as "the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others." The ecclesiastical side of marriage originated in the endeavour to insure fidelity to the contract by some impressive ceremonial. Statutes of 1833 and 1856 constitute, writes the author, the present civil marriage law of England; and in the reign of George IV. exemption was made for Quakers and Jews, and by 6 and 7 William IV., c. 85, marriages were authorized in registered buildings and before a Registrar.

Mr. Chapman concludes that it is necessary—(1) in order to emphasize the civil contract, and to prevent the scandal of the Church being associated with ill-considered, mercenary, and immoral

* By Mr. Cecil Chapman, Metropolitan magistrate, 1911.

marriages, that all persons should be compelled to go through the civil form of marriage as the only one giving validity ; (2) that the Church service should be so modified that, its spiritual character being predominant, it may be offered as a source of strength and inspiration to those only who sincerely desire it from a belief in its sanctity, and are willing to submit to conditions calculated to promote a happy and permanent marriage.

In discussing the question of divorce, Mr. Chapman regards considerable reforms as necessary with a view to strengthening the sanctity of marriage. “The Church ought,” he says, “so far as possible, to be dissociated from scandalous marriages, and a considerable step towards this end would be taken by making it compulsory for all marriages to be first concluded before a Registrar, leaving the religious service for those only who desire it, and who are considered to be in sufficient communion with the Church or other religious body to deserve it.

“Marriage is a civil contract in every case, but it can only be a sacrament to those who believe it so. The suggested change would merely be reverting to the old practice, before the Church insisted on making marriage an ecclesiastical matter—namely, a civil ceremony in the porch of a church and a subsequent blessing inside the church.

“The object of all changes must be the

strengthening of marriage obligations for both husband and wife, and thereby increasing both the sanctity of marriage and the chances of human happiness for each individual."

After these preliminary observations regarding Indian legislation on the subject of native marriages and the tendency of the age on the question of marriage in general, we may turn to the particular matter of the Anand form of Sikh marriages. It is not described in any detail in the late Mr. M. A. Macauliffe's six volumes on the Sikh religion. All that he says is that the third Guru, Amar Das, on seeing his grandson, composed on the spot the Anand, or Song of Joy, in thirty-eight stanzas, and gave to the infant the name of Anand. The whole composition was at once recited, and is now repeated on occasions of marriages and rejoicings, also before large feasts and at the preparation of sacred food. It is an exposition of Sikhism generally. The Guru ordered that from that day forward it should ever be recited on festive occasions. The Sikhs believe, writes Mr. Macauliffe, that when the Anand is read at the beginning of any undertaking it is successful; and if it be read in the morning, the day is passed in happiness. We are told how the tenth Guru, the great Gobind Singh, interposed on a special occasion, and urged a plasterer to marry a girl. "He accordingly did so by Sikh marriage rites, known as Anand. The Guru promised that he should

have five distinguished sons as the result of his marriage, a prophecy which was duly fulfilled." Later, Banda, who succeeded the last Guru as the Sikh leader, killed the Mahomedan male inhabitants at Jalandhar, where the women were converted to Sikhism, and became wives of the Sikh soldiers by the ceremony of Anand. But the ceremony itself and its special object are not described. Whatever they may be, this marriage ceremony has been practised at least since the days of Guru Gobind. When the Bill to give it legal sanction was introduced by the Tikka Sahib—that is, the heir-apparent of the Nabha State—the Government adopted an attitude of neutrality towards it, awaiting the view which the Sikh community might take of the Bill. The Government expressed a readiness to give sympathetic consideration to any measure which professed to aim at promoting the interests of the Sikhs, whose bravery had won the admiration of the world, and whose loyalty to the British Crown had ever been steadfast.

When the Bill came again before the Council on August 27, 1909, the Honble. Sirdar Sundar Singh said : "I deem it incumbent upon me to mention that the credit for this useful measure is mainly due to the Honble. Tikka Sahib of Nabha, who has laboured unremittingly to work it up, and to invest it with such interest as to command almost universal approval from the Sikh community, both high and low."

The history of the Anand marriage of the Sikhs, as given in speeches made in the Viceroy's Council, may perhaps appeal to marriage reformers in the West. The ceremony was initiated by the third Guru of the Sikhs, Guru Amar Das Sahib, and the marriages of Bhai Kamlia and Matho Murari were performed in accordance therewith in the time of the third and fourth Gurus, the last of whom composed the four "Lanwans" in the Suhi Rag of the Guru Granth Sahib, the sacred book of the Sikhs. A complaint was made to the Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605), and the third Guru sent his son-in-law, Guru Ram Das, to the Emperor's Court. After due inquiry, the ceremony was held to be legally valid, and it remained in force ever since. The sixth Guru's daughter, Bibi Viro, was married in accordance with this rite, and up to the present time in the village of Chabbal (District Amritsar), every year a fair is held to commemorate that event, on which occasion "Lanwans" are recited. Only during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh did this ceremony fall into partial disuse; but all the same, while it received a check from the indirect Brahmanical influence of the time, it survived, fortunately for the Sikhs, in the form of widow re-marriages, merely because such marriages were not recognized by the Hindu law.

It, however, remained in vogue among the four sects of the Sikhs—Bihangams (Nihan

Singhs), Bandaies (followers of Baba Banda), Narankaris (the sect named after Guru Nanak Niran Kari), and last of all in the Nam Dharias (the followers of Baba Ram Singh). A revival again set in, and during the last thirty years or so several marriages took place in accordance with this ceremony. Among those who performed their marriages in accordance with this rite were Rajas, Sirdars, Jagirdars, Sants, Pujaris, Guru Ans (descendants of the Gurus), military officers, agriculturists and professional gentlemen, whose marriages were duly notified in the Sikh papers from time to time.

From the speeches made in the Viceroy's Council, it appears that this form of marriage is one of the most popular ceremonies among the Sikhs, and, being simple and inexpensive, is, from the point of view of economy, likely to become general among them. Why it has not hitherto become so is due to the doubts that have been raised by interested parties as to its validity in case the marriage custom should ever be questioned in a Law Court.

The Sikhs being monotheistic in belief, it is difficult for them—nay it is even against their religious belief—to follow idolatrous forms. A perusal of the opinions and petitions received in the Legislative Department of the Government of India shows that the measure has had almost universal support. The Honble. Sirdar Sundar Singh observed that only a very small number of

persons had sounded a dissenting note. It was with a view to save the poor and most backward Sikh community, the loyal subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor, from the ruinous effects of litigation, and also from the rather provoking insinuations of some interested parties who did not hesitate to question the legitimacy of the offspring of such marriages, that the Tikka Sahib of Nabha had introduced this Bill in the Viceroy's Council.

The provisions of the Bill in their present form being only permissive, the promoters of the Bill were unable to guess the reasons of those who had dissented from the provisions of a legislative measure which had the support of high Government officials, and, in the words of the Panjab Government letter, was "harmless," and likely "to prevent very costly and widespread litigation."

The resolutions submitted spoke eloquently of the gratitude of the whole Sikh community, from the Ruling Chiefs down to the lowest rank of society, towards His Excellency's sympathetic and kind Government, and the Sikhs looked fervently to the day when this Bill should become law.

The Bill was referred to a Select Committee, who introduced various changes, and it came again before the Council on October 22, 1909, intituled "A Bill to remove doubts as to the validity of the marriage ceremony common

among the Sikhs, called Anand." It provided that all marriages which might be, or might have been, duly solemnized according to the Sikh marriage ceremony, called Anand, should be, and should be deemed to have been with effect from the date of the solemnization of each respectively, good and valid in law ; also that nothing in the Act should apply to—(1) any marriage between persons not professing the Sikh religion ; or (2) any marriage which had been judicially declared to be null and void ; also that nothing in the Act should affect the validity of any marriage duly solemnized according to any other marriage ceremony customary among the Sikhs. A fifth clause was altered in Council so as to provide that nothing in the Act should be deemed to validate any marriage between persons who are related to each other in any degree of consanguinity or affinity which would, according to the customary law of the Sikhs, render a marriage between them illegal. It was explained that it was not intended to prohibit, for example, widow marriages, which are perfectly legal among the Sikhs, nor was it intended that the Act should make illegal any marriage which was legal before. The word "customary" was substituted for "personal," so as to make it clear that the law meant was not merely the law as contained in the Shastras, as some had supposed.

In moving that the Bill should be passed into an Act, the member in charge of the Bill aimed

at clearing up certain misconceptions as to its scope and object, and at removing all possibility of misunderstanding as to its nature. He said that it had been urged that a Legislative Act was not necessary merely to validate the Anand form of marriage, as such marriages were already recognized by custom and held valid by the Panjab Laws Act. It should not, however, be forgotten that in the case of Sirdar Dayal Singh, Majithia, the only case that went up to the Privy Council, it was held that Sikhs were governed by the Hindu law, and it might be contended that this ruling made the Hindu form of marriage the only legally valid one for the Sikhs. Then, again, those who urged the validity of the Anand marriage as a recognized custom in the Panjab as a reason against the passing of the Bill forgot that the Sikhs were no longer confined to the Panjab, but had spread over India and Burma, and were to be found in all parts of the world. There were Sabhas, Dharmasalas, and Gurdwaras, and an ever-increasing number of Sikhs, in the United Kingdom, United States of America, China, British Africa, and other parts of the world. The number of Sahajdharis, an important section of the Sikh community, in other parts of India beside the Panjab, was on the increase. All these places, being outside the Panjab, could not be governed by the customary law applicable to the Panjab. Even in the Honble. Member's own Province

the existence of the custom might be challenged in every district and in every case and for every sub-section of the classes from which Sikhs were drawn. The trouble, the expense, the uncertainty, which the necessity of obtaining a judicial decision in such cases would entail could be easily imagined. At best it was an uncertain and wearisome method of dealing with such a vital question as marriage, affecting a whole community.

He further submitted that Sikhism was a monotheistic and a proselytizing religion ; men of all castes and creeds were welcome into its fold. Sri Guru Amar Das Ji made a condition that those who wished to see him, or came to seek his spiritual aid, must "interdine" and receive food from a common kitchen before they could be received by him. Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji emphasized this still further, and the disciples at the time of initiation had then, as now, to eat out of a common plate, thus practically abjuring all ideas of the distinction of caste, and recognizing Sri Guru Govind Singh Ji as their father, and joining the brotherhood as members of one family. The teachings of the Gurus clearly enjoined the discarding of the Caste system. A few of their precepts might be quoted :

1. What is there in caste ? Truth alone is recognized.
2. Look for godliness ; challenge not one's caste, for caste availeth not hereafter.

3. Worthless is caste, and worthless (conceit of) name.

4. Be not proud of caste, oh ignorant fool ; this caste leads to innumerable evils.

The Honble. Member felt sure that His Excellency and his Honble. colleagues would agree that a proselytizing religion like that of the Sikhs, which drew converts from all castes and creeds, could not be ruled for ever by the Shastric law. The latter did not cover the case of men and women drawn from other religions and communities into the all-embracing fold of Sikhism, bringing their own personal law with them. Naturally, in such cases custom played a great part, and, unless it were recognized by a Legislative Act, it could be challenged in every case, leaving the Sikhs the long and weary task of building up, by expensive litigation, a fabric of "custom judicially established." As had been wisely observed by the Panjab Government, "legislation which has for its object the resolving of doubts which embarrass and perplex a whole community in connection with one of the most important observances of civil life can hardly be stigmatized as unnecessary."

It had been said that the Bill, when it passed into law, would not be any advance on the marriage law which then prevailed. The opinion expressed by the Honble. Justice Shankaram Nair, of the Madras High Court, that—

- (1) There should be some age limit ;
- (2) Polygamy expressly prohibited ;
- (3) Some kind of evidence of marriage prescribed ;
- (4) Laws of divorce made clear ; and
- (5) Imprisonment for restitution of conjugal rights done away with—

was worthy of all respect, and was probably shared by a large number of enlightened members of the Sikh community. But social reform among the Sikhs was not confined to an educated few, it affected the entire mass of the Sikh population ; and as long as there was not a general desire on the part of the whole Sikh community for such social legislation as was indicated by the Honble. Justice Nair, it would not be right to ask for social legislation of the kind. Reforms like these were certainly dear to their heart, but these ought to be carried on for a sufficient length of time before their recognition could be sought for at the hands of the Government. It would not do to force reforms which might be considered as mere innovations by those for whose benefit they were intended. It was to be hoped that with the expansion of female education among the Sikhs, the desire for a higher kind of marriage law would grow and express itself, and the present Act might serve as a framework for building up a marriage law worthy of a God-fearing and progressive community like that of the Sikhs.

The Honble. Member observed that, since the report of the Select Committee had been published, it had been said by some critics that the Act did not go far enough ; that Sections 4 and 5 were undesirable ; that the term Sikh had not been defined. The Select Committee considered it necessary to insert Clause 4 to make the permissive nature of the Bill clear. No form of marriage could, in a community like the Sikhs, well be made obligatory, and it was but just that the doubts of those who somehow or other could not distinguish between an idolatrous custom which, by the way, was not in consonance with the monotheistic teachings of the Gurus, and a purely rational rite which was totally in consonance with the teachings of the Gurus, should for ever be set at rest.

Section 5, it was feared, would stand in the way of inter-marriages between the different sections of the community, and had, with His Excellency's kind permission, been so modified as to meet the objection. The term "Sikh," as used in this Bill, to the Honble. Member's mind, included the Sahajdharis, Keshadharis, and all those who believed in the teachings of the Sri Guru Granth Sahib as their religion, and he hoped that he would be supported in this view by his Honble. colleague, the distinguished Law Member.

The Bill before the Council was a small and a harmless measure. It was permissive in its

nature ; it created no new rights ; it legalized no new ceremonies ; nor did it disturb any established customs, rights, or ceremonies. He had already pointed out in his introductory speech that the form of the Anand marriage was not a new idea as some people alleged.

The Bill had been nearly a year before the public. It had not gone uncriticized, but on the whole had received general support from officials, non-officials, and the Sikh public. In the words of the Panjab Government, "persons from the Raja of Jhind to the village chaukidar" had spoken in its favour. More than 120 Sikh public bodies had expressly written in its favour, and in addition to this a very large number of petitions, containing many thousands of signatures, had been submitted to His Excellency's Government in its support. The chief Takhts and Gurdwaras of the Sikhs had given their warm support to the Bill. The Manager of the Golden Temple had also expressed an opinion in its favour. On the whole, there had never been such unanimity over a private Bill. Some of the Pujaris (sacred reciters) and Granthis (priests) of Amritsar, having probably misunderstood the nature and scope of the Bill, had raised certain objections ; but these had been amply met and explained in other different representations coming from the Pujaris of the Golden Temple itself, other Gurdwaras, and other religious Bhaikhs of Amritsar and Tarantaran, under the

signatures of a large number of signatories received by His Excellency's Government. The opposition, small as it was, appeared to have laboured under a misapprehension as to the scope of the Bill and its necessity. The statement of Objects and Reasons appearing above the signature of the Tikka Sahib of Nabha defined clearly the scope of the Bill. Its object was—(1) to set at rest doubts which might be raised as to the validity of the marriage rite of the Sikhs called Anand, which was an old form of marriage prevailing among them; (2) to save the Sikhs performing marriage in this form from great difficulties and heavy expenses of litigation in Civil Courts to prove their custom; and (3) to avoid the uncertainty that some of the judicial officers might have as to the validity of this orthodox Sikh custom. It was, therefore, desirable to set all doubts at rest by passing this enactment merely validating an existing rite, and involving no new principles.

The thanks of the Sikh community were due to His Excellency for the permission to introduce the Bill; to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab for his kind support; and to the Tikka Sahib of Nabha for his solicitude for his people. Last, but not least, thanks were due to the Honble. the Law Member for his co-operation and moral support. His presence in the Council was not only a source of strength to a foreign Government, but inspired confidence

in all classes of the community, and was a guarantee of the wholesomeness of any social legislation which had his valuable support.

The Bill, though simple in character, indicated an advance on the ordinary Hindu marriage. The recognition of widow marriages, and the performance of the same ceremony as in other marriages in the case of widow marriages was a gain not lightly to be passed over. The explanation of the sacred and solemn import of the marriage and of the duties of married life, and the personal and spiritually solemn contract between the parties made in the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib Ji, which generally formed part of the Anand ceremony of marriage, raised it far above the level of other ceremonies which had degenerated into empty rituals and unmeaning recitations, so far as the persons principally affected were concerned. The reduction of the marriage expenses and the simplification of the whole ceremony was a moral gain of no small value.

The Honble. Member then, before formally moving that the Bill might be passed into law, expressed his opinion that His Excellency, by giving the measure his assent, would be gratifying the wishes of the vast majority of the Sikh community, including the very flower of the native army, and would help the cause of social, moral, and economic reform among the Sikhs. He trusted that in the ripeness of time the seed of

reform sown under the kind auspices of His Excellency would grow and prosper, and serve to remove all social disabilities, and work for the establishment of equal rights of man and woman alike, and he added that His Excellency would for ever be remembered by the Sikhs, the most loyal and the bravest soldiers of the Empire, with feelings of unfailing gratitude.

The Honble. Member moved that the Bill, as then amended, be passed.

The Honble. Mr. S. P. Sinha, the Legal Member of the Council, explained that it was impossible, and had been considered unnecessary, to enumerate the different classes of Sikhs—unnecessary because, according to the decision of the highest Courts in the country, the word “Sikh” included the various classes of Sikhs, and any attempt to enumerate them would be dangerous and contrary to the interest of the persons concerned.

Sir Herbert Risley, as a member of the Select Committee, spoke on two points :

One was the proposal that had been made to them that the ceremony of marriage should be defined in the Bill, and the other was the proposal to which the Honble. the Law Member had just referred, that the term “Sikh” should also be defined. Now, as regarded the question of the marriage ceremony, it was a subject to which he had given a good deal of attention. He had been present at Hindu marriages, and

had written minute descriptions of several kinds of ritual. The first thing that struck one was how extremely fluid and variable the ceremony was, and what difficulty there was in determining which was the most material portion of it. Some authorities said that the essential factor was the seven steps taken by the bride round a sacred fire; others that the validating portion was the smearing of vermillion on the forehead at the parting of the bride's hair; others, again, said that the important thing was the binding together of the wrists of the bride and bridegroom. Over and above these there were numerous ceremonies known by the generic term of *stri achar*, which were usually performed in the female apartments of the house. If the ritual were set out in the Bill, it would be open to anyone to say that the most minute portion of the ceremony was essential, and that its omission would invalidate the marriage. That was no imaginary objection. He remembered many years ago trying a very big and important civil case, in which one of the main issues was whether a particular lady had been validly married or not. A mass of evidence was given, elaborate textbooks were cited, witnesses were cross-examined on the question of how many steps were taken by the bride, whether the fire was properly prepared, whether the proper amount of vermillion had been smeared on her forehead, and so forth. He submitted, for these

reasons, that it would be absolutely out of the question to attempt to embody in that Bill anything so complicated and variable as marriage ritual was bound to be.

As to the second point, the definition of Sikhs, several parallel questions had come before him when he was Census Commissioner for India. There was, for example, a very large and influential body in Bombay known as "Lingayats," who started with the humanitarian doctrine that all men were equal, or at any rate for the purposes of the Lingayat sect ought to be equal. Later on the idea of caste came in, and when Sir Herbert Risley was concerned with the question, they sent in memorials asking that Lingayats should be entered not as such, but that each and every kind of Lingayat, such as Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and so forth, should be separately shown in the census. He declined to entertain the idea for very much the same reason for which he thought it right to decline to enumerate the varieties of Sikhs—namely, Sahajdharis, Amritdhari, etc., in that Bill. If you proceeded by way of enumeration, you left it open to anybody to contend that a person who did not belong to one of the categories named in the Bill was not a proper Sikh. And from what one knew of the history of the Sikhs, and from what his Honble. friend had told him lately of Sikhism, it was originally a brotherhood of men whose belief was that all men were equal.

Later on, under the influence of the Dogra rulers of the Panjab, the idea of caste crept in and broke them up. They now desired—and perhaps that Bill would promote that end—to restore the ancient purity of the original faith ; they desired to make themselves into a united community, containing the germ of nationality, and no longer split up into castes. That ideal was in accordance with the general trend of modern feeling in India ; it was an ideal that made for union and not disunion, and on that ground, it might claim to command their cordial sympathy.

The then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab (Sir Louis Dane) referred to an official letter of April 20, 1909, in which he had recognized that, though it was almost voiceless, there was a party in the Sikh community opposed to the Bill, the party consisting of Sikhs taken from the higher Hindu castes, though it had not denounced the measure. He continued :

“ It is usually the reformers who are most active and vocal in pushing their proposals, while conservative opinion, especially in this country, is not so quick to make itself known. The discussions about the Bill have shown how well organized is the Sikh reform party. The word goes forth, and petitions practically identical in substance pour in from all parts of the world. The conservatives only move later, but their opinion is none the less important, though it is

not so easily ascertained, and it is not so liable to sudden changes as that of a party advocating new ideas, and largely directed from a common political centre. The experience gained in the controversy which has arisen over the measure shows how careful we must be not to take the public utterances of a reforming party as the opinion of the whole of a community. Here, apparently, the Sikhs were unanimous in favour of the original Bill, but those in touch with the people knew that such was not the case, and very prudently, I venture to think, a provision was inserted making it clear that the Anand ceremony was not obligatory on all Sikhs. Some of the reformers cry out for the removal of this provision, and I am afraid that their object must be to endeavour to impose their view on all their co-religionists, as otherwise the existence of the provision is not only harmless but beneficial as resolving doubts, which is the main purpose of this legislation. Difficulties have already arisen as to the position of persons married by the Anand ceremony at the Darbar Sahib at Amritsar, the centre of the Sikh faith, and it would be fatal to accentuate those difficulties, which might split the whole Sikh community on a vital point, by trying to give this Bill a more obligatory turn, as some of the reformers apparently desire, by omitting Clause 4 and styling the measure the Sikh Marriage Act.

“ At the same time, I must confess that my sympathies are largely with the promoters of the Bill, for the reasons that it marks an important step in social reform, and that it may bring about a possible, nay probable, decrease in marriage expenditure, which is one of the main causes of indebtedness in this province. I join Sirdar Sundar Singh in regretting that it was not possible in this measure to raise the age of marriage under the Anand ceremony, and to provide a system of marriage registration. On these points, however, we must have regard to the silent opinion of the masses of the community, and we must wait until that opinion has unmistakably declared itself in favour of these reforms. As, however, the Anand ceremony is not necessarily preceded by a formal betrothal, it is more difficult to prove such a marriage than an ordinary Hindu marriage of the orthodox type. Registration of such marriages is therefore very desirable, and I hope that the leaders of Sikh opinion will soon see the necessity for resorting to some such form of registration as has been successful in the case of somewhat similar Mahomedan marriages in the South-Western portion of the province, where District Boards have undertaken the maintenance through qualified persons of marriage registers, with the result of saving the people much civil and criminal litigation with its accompanying evils.

“ A description of the Anand ritual in a per-

missive and enabling measure of this type would be out of place and embarrassing, and I am glad that the Select Committee have not acceded to the requests of some of the opponents of this Bill, who apparently desire to introduce a further element of doubt and discussion by defining ritual in a civil measure.

“One very important matter has been noticed by the Honble. Member in charge of the Bill, and that is what is meant by the term “Sikh.” The introducer of the Bill, the Tikka Sahib of Nabha, had no doubt on the point, and no more had his supporters or the Panjab Government in suggesting that the measure should be admitted to Council. All these authorities, then, clearly recognized that the term included all persons who belonged to the Sikh faith, and took the tenets of their religious belief from the writings known as the Sri Guru Granth Sahib. Many of the principal supporters of the Tikka Sahib were Sahajdhari Sikhs, or those who have not taken the *pahul* and become Singhs. Some of the leading men who have been married in recent years by the Anand rite belong to the same class. There are numerous sub-sections of the Sikhs, as there are of every other religious creed in the world, but all are Sikhs if they accept the fundamental test of the religion, and base their belief on the teachings of the Sikh Gurus as embodied in the Granth Sahib.

“Why the idea should have arisen that all

persons other than Singhs would be excluded by the wording of the Bill from its benefits I am at a loss to understand. However, I trust, after the explanations given, all doubts on the point will be removed, and that any Sikh or religious follower of the Gurus will be free to adopt the Anand ritual, if he so desires, without risk of the validity of his action being called into question.

“ The slight modification made in Clause 5 of the Bill seems desirable in view of doubts generally expressed as to the construction which the Courts might put upon the phrase, ‘the personal law of the Sikhs,’ and as to the meaning of the clause as originally drafted.

“ Finally, I would only refer to the opinion, which has been expressed by some of the advanced reformers, and also by some of the Sikhs who desire to adhere to more conventional forms, to the effect that it would be better to drop the Bill than to pass it in its present form. In April last I foresaw that there might be trouble over the measure, and the Government of India was addressed to the following effect :

“ ‘ In conclusion, I am to say that in Sir Louis Dane’s opinion the Tikka Sahib’s Bill, with such minor amendments as have been suggested above, has behind it the popular support of the vast majority of the Sikh community ; that it in no way infringes the civil, social, or religious rights of the minority who are opposed to it ; that it affords the basis for a valuable social reform in the direc-

tion of the reduction of marriage expenses ; and that from a legal point of view it is, if not strictly necessary, at any rate harmless, and may prevent very costly and widespread litigation. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that the Tikka Ripudaman Singh should have raised the question at all, but as he has done so, and as he is supported by the great body of his co-religionists, and as it would probably cause serious popular discontent if no action is taken in the matter of the Bill, the Lieutenant-Governor considers that it should be passed into law.'

" I have nothing to add to those remarks. I believe that the opinion of the great mass of the Sikh community is in favour of the measure, which is a compromise between the views of the more advanced reformers and the ultra-conservative section. It will be a pity if the people get the idea that the legislative machinery of Government cannot help them in their difficulties, or that the clamour of a noisy minority is sufficient to divert and obstruct the wish of Government to give effect to a measure embodying a social reform desired by the great majority of a given community. The Anand form of marriage is practised already ; it is decent, decorous, and distinctive ; and the controversy that has arisen shows that there is a disposition in certain quarters to question its validity. The case for legislative action, then, seems to be made out, and, speaking with a full sense of responsibility

as the head of a Province of which the Sikh community is one of the most distinguishing and distinguished features, I can only say that I should regard it as unfortunate if this permissive and resolving measure were not now to become law."

The Anand Marriage Bill was thus passed into a law for the Sikhs. It would have been more highly estimated among the Sikhs if it had remained in the charge of the Tikka Sahib of Nabha, one of the great Phulkian Chiefs of the Panjab. The history of these Chiefs goes back to the time of Guru Har Rai (1631-1661), the seventh of the Sikh Gurus. Their ancestor, Phul, second son of Rup Chand, of the Sidha Jat tribe, was as a child taken into the presence of the Guru, who took compassion on him, and said : "He shall become great, famous, and wealthy. The steeds of his descendants shall drink water as far as the Jamna ; they shall have sovereignty for many generations, and be honoured in proportion as they serve the Guru." Phul founded a village, and called it after his own name, and received from the Emperor Shah Jahan a *firman*, or deed of grant, confirming to him the office of Chaudhri, which had been for so many years held by his family. Phul had six, some say seven, children, from whom have sprung many noble families. From Tilak Singh, the eldest of them, the Maharaja of Nabha is descended. Nabha, Patiala, and Jind are the Phulkian

Chiefs. The State of Patiala is now the largest, but, says Mr. Macauliffe,* it was the Ruler of Nabha who in ancient times bore the title of Chaudhri, then an office of power, responsibility, and honour. The Sikh community would have regarded this legislation with greater favour if it had remained in the hands of the heir-apparent of one of their three great Chiefs. It is to be regretted that the British Government does not think of these things. The Tikka Sahib Ripudaman Singh (who is now the Maharaja of Nabha) might easily have been renominated to the Council to carry his measure through to completion. His reappointment would have encouraged the loyalty and good-will of the Sikhs, whereas this treatment of the first heir-apparent of a Panjab Chief with regard to his seat in Council was calculated to discourage other heirs from accepting such a position. The omission may have been only an oversight, or its importance may not have been appreciated ; but why give such a handle to critics and agitators ? Surely it is the business of the highest authorities to reflect coolly upon the political aspect of such acts and omissions.

* "The Sikh Religion," vol. iv., p. 295.

CHAPTER IV

COMMERCIAL GRIEVANCES

SIR RAJENDRA MOOKERJEE's Presidential Address at the Industrial Conference held in 1910 at Allahabad has been so widely discussed, that I make no apology for reproducing it *in extenso* for the benefit of my English readers. Whether my readers believe in Free Trade or Imperial Preference, they will be interested in the views of the Hindu economist and organizer who is the senior partner of an influential European business firm at Calcutta, and was for some time Sheriff of that city, the second in the British Empire :

" I thank you, gentlemen, for the great honour you have done me in selecting me to preside over the Conference this year. The honour of being your President for the year 1907 was offered to me on the day of my arrival in Bombay from Europe, but I could not accept your kind offer then, as, much to my regret, it was impossible for me, after an absence of six months from my own business, to spare the amount of time presiding over so important a

Conference demands. I have accepted the honour this year with great diffidence, gentlemen, because I am fully conscious of my own inability to do justice to the duties which devolve upon me as your President. My sense of unfitness is all the more acute when I call to mind that I have been preceded in this honourable office by such able and public-spirited men as the late Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, Sir Vithaldas Thackersay, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Saker-lal Desai, the Honble. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, and the Maharaja of Darbhanga. I have been emboldened to accept the presidentship by the knowledge that most of the subjects upon which in the ordinary course I should be required to touch have already formed the subject of discussion during the last five annual gatherings, and I feel sure of your indulgence in listening to one who is a plain business man, endeavouring to place the subjects before you from a commercial point of view.

“There are now published in India excellent technical journals dealing with practically every class of industry that is capable of development in India. These journals and the records of this Conference furnish us with full details of the numerous industries which we all hope some day to see more fully developed in our country by the friendly co-operation of capital and labour. Technical papers, exhaustively dealing with various industries, have been read from time to

time at these Conferences, by men eminently qualified to speak, containing most valuable suggestions for the industrial development we are so anxious to see established. In fact, the records of the meetings of the last five years furnish sufficient information, and it only remains for us to give an impetus to a movement which will not only supply the ordinary commodities of Indian life, but will keep in the country a large portion of that wealth which now goes to foreign countries, besides giving our country a commercial standing it does not now possess. It is important that we should have some idea of the true direction in which such development lies, added to a practical knowledge, to enable us to guard against the pitfalls of a wrongly-directed development, wherein lies the road to disappointment and failure.

“I shall only venture to offer a few practical suggestions, and to remark upon what I consider fundamental principles, which must not be disregarded, if we are to make any material progress. Several small industries have been started during recent years, in different parts of India, with, in most cases, but indifferent success. We should, therefore, try to trace the causes of failure. In the present condition of our country we should recognize that to develop any industry successfully we must have, first and foremost, expert knowledge, as well as men of undoubted practical experience in the particular industry which we

desire to establish. From Bengal students have been sent abroad to Europe and America, at public expense, to acquire scientific knowledge. Some of these students have returned, and doubtless have acquired a fair knowledge of what they were sent to learn, but they must necessarily lack that practical training and capacity for management that comes only with long experience, and is so necessary for men who hope to become pioneers of new industries. None of these students, so far as I am aware, has shown any capacity for taking charge of, or efficiently managing, any large industrial concern. Nor do they get any opportunity, prior to being sent abroad, to acquire sufficient technical knowledge here that they might ascertain for themselves whether they have any liking for, or aptitude in, the particular line in which they are to become experts. It has happened that some of these young men, on returning to their country, have taken up an altogether different profession from that to learn which they were sent abroad, and the public money expended on their training has therefore been wasted. If we are really serious in our desire to give an impetus to the development of our industries, we should press for the establishment, in some central part of India, of a well-equipped Technical College, fitted with proper workshops and up-to-date laboratories. Students from the existing technical schools now established in different parts of India should, if

they so desire, after completing their course, be admitted into the Central Technical College. This I do not think would clash in any way with the Tata Institute, which, if I am not mistaken, is intended for original research.

With the establishment of a Central Technical College, students from the Universities (those, for example, who take the B.Sc. degree), would be afforded an opportunity of continuing further their scientific education and of acquiring practical knowledge in this College. To establish such a College would mean a large outlay of money, and I think that this Conference should without delay approach the Government of India with a draft scheme. The existing technical schools should be placed in a position to offer suitable scholarships to successful and deserving candidates, who may be desirous of continuing their scientific studies in this proposed Central College. Government scholarships, which are now offered yearly for the acquisition of technical knowledge abroad, could with advantage be diverted to this purpose and to granting scholarships from the Central College for the purpose of gaining further experience by a course of, say, two years in England or other foreign country.

“ Apart from the doubtful result of sending our young untrained students to foreign countries, as is now done, to acquire technical knowledge, there are grave dangers at the present

time, both personal and politic, in sending a large number of students abroad, selected in a more or less haphazard fashion ; and the Government of India would, perhaps, be prepared seriously to consider this point when deciding as to the necessity of establishing a well-equipped Technical College in India. This, gentlemen, is only a rough outline of the scheme. Details would have to be carefully worked out if the general idea is approved. No private individual, or association, I am afraid, would be able to control or manage such a Technical College, or to carry out the scheme in its entirety. The Conference should, therefore, as I have said before, represent the matter to the Government of India and press for the establishment, as early as possible, of a Central Technical College, on the same lines as those now established at Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and other places. In the meantime, however, we must not neglect to take advantage of the general feeling that something should be done towards industrial development, and I would suggest to our earnest workers that they should not hesitate to engage foreign experts for the present, and do away with the vain prejudices of a narrow-minded "Swadeshi," which mistakenly advocates the employment of Indians only, to the exclusion of foreigners.

"The next problem to be considered is the raising of capital. Having obtained a reliable

expert and established confidence in the public mind, our next difficulty is the finding of the necessary capital. This, indeed, is a difficult problem. Private enterprise in this country is only in its infancy, and therefore Companies with a really sound and promising future often fail to attract capital. Indian capital, gentlemen, is proverbially shy and unenterprising, but this I ascribe largely to a want of industrial and commercial knowledge on the part of Indian capitalists and a consequent failure to realize the potentialities of the various schemes placed before them, coupled with a disinclination to depart from those time-honoured methods of investing and lending money which have been in force for so many centuries, and, in many instances, bring in a return which can only be considered as usury. India, generally speaking, is a poor country—that is to say, the majority of the population are poor. But there is wealth in India, and the possessors of it could, with but a fractional part of their amassed wealth, not only develop many of the industries that are dormant to-day, but make India industrially equal to any other country in the world.

“There must always be a certain amount of risk and uncertainty involved in the early stages of a new class of industry, and it is the want of knowledge, referred to before, which prevents Indian capitalists from correctly estimating what those risks are, as against the higher return on

their capital which industrial concerns usually give. No new industry in any country, and particularly in India, can be sure of such success as to show a remunerative return from its very inception. Unless, therefore, our capitalists could be assured of at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent. interest on their outlay, it is not likely that they will help in the promotion and financing of such Companies. The Government cannot be expected to guarantee a minimum return, even for a short period of years, and it would not be for the ultimate good of the industry itself to be dry-nursed to this extent; but in a country industrially new, as India is, a certain amount of dry-nursing has to be done, and a great deal more could be done in this direction by granting bounties, or even by preferential duties.

“The most convenient method of establishing and working large industrial concerns is undoubtedly that of the Joint Stock Company, whereby the investors' liability is limited to the amount subscribed. The Act, however, regulating such enterprises in this country is far from perfect, and should be brought more into line with the new English Act of 1908, with such modifications as the different conditions existing in this country may suggest. It should give ample protection to the shareholders without being so stringent as to strangle commercial development. I believe the matter is already receiving the serious consideration of Govern-

ment, and I hope that we may shortly have an Act that will stimulate enterprise, while providing the necessary safeguards to investors.

“ In forming a Joint Stock Company the first step is the formation of a strong Board of Directors. Our Boards hitherto have consisted too largely of figure-heads. We must, in addition, have on our Boards a few workers—genuine sincere workers—and men of experience, who are prepared to work honestly and whole-heartedly for the good of the concern. In the present state of our commercial ignorance, I venture to think that it is not only desirable, but indispensable, to secure the services of a fair proportion of commercial European gentlemen on our Boards, selected for their sympathy with, and their knowledge of and experience in, the industry to be developed. The Board thus formed should have only a general control of the Company, the details of working and manufacturing should be left with the Manager responsible for the production, who would, of course, be duly selected for his business qualifications and fitness for the post. There should also be a commercial firm, of good status, selected as Managing Agents, whose functions would be to look after the commercial part of the concern.

“ What I have said above will doubtless appear very elementary to my Bombay friends, who are managing, and most successfully managing, much bigger concerns than I have in view. My

remarks are meant for those who have not been so successful, and I am prompted to make these remarks as I have regretfully seen the failure of many promising ventures through want of the right sort of men on the Board, the lack of good Managing Agents, and through undue interference, by well-meaning but incompetent Directors, with the Manager working the concern. The last and most important requirement is the easy and quick disposal of the articles manufactured. Notwithstanding the best expert knowledge, the required capital, the formation of competent Boards, and the securing of capable Managing Agents, unless our productions can be quickly disposed of, and at a remunerative price, we cannot achieve that financial success which is the object of all commercial undertakings. When we begin manufacturing goods that are now imported from Europe, we shall find many difficulties—the most formidable being foreign competition. I am sure that any industry started in this country, calculated to decrease foreign imports, will lead to foreign manufacturers putting down goods at our doors at a price considerably below that at which they can be produced in this country, and we shall not be able to find a market for our goods unless we have Protection in some form. Such industries as we may develop in our country will not, for years to come, seek a foreign market for their manufactures, and our home market, under

present conditions, might be practically closed to us by foreign manufacturers, who, with unlimited resources at their command, might possibly consider it policy to dump their goods in the country at a price below our manufacturing cost, with the object of killing local competition, and then again raising the prices to a profitable figure. This is a most serious question, gentlemen, and not only this Conference, but every man in this country should continue to agitate constitutionally until Government affords Protection, in some shape or other, to local manufacturers.

“Gentlemen, we all know that if the Government of India were left alone to do its duty towards India, there would be no hesitation in introducing some such measure suitable to the special needs of India. But there are stronger influences at work, whose interests clash with our own; and without the combined efforts of the Government and the people, I am afraid we shall never get a satisfactory solution. The question of Protection is, I admit, a complicated and serious one, and it is with a great deal of hesitation and diffidence that I refer to it at all; but it is a question that should be most carefully considered, as otherwise to do good to some of our industries we may court disaster in other branches of commerce. I would suggest that the Government should be approached and asked to appoint a Joint Commission of officials and commercial men to discuss and decide in what

particular form Protection would be most beneficial to India. This point should be definitely decided before we actually apply for any protective legislation. I think it is imperative on our leaders to give this question their first consideration, and, if we are successful in securing a wise form of Protection, I am sure the country's industrial development will receive a great impetus.

"In connection with foreign competition, I should also like to add that the Patent Laws are a very important consideration. In recent years this law has been revised in England, by which it is provided that, to retain the protection of law, it is necessary, within a specified period, to manufacture the patented article in England. I think that such a law in this country will assist very materially in the establishment of factories, and I earnestly commend the adoption of some such law, in a modified form, to the consideration of the Government. It has been in operation in England sufficiently long to enable one to form an opinion as to its success or otherwise. The prosperity of the country should be our first thought, and I venture to think that the gratification of our political aspirations is of little avail, if this be lost sight of. Another point which I think the Government of India might reasonably be asked to insist upon is that all Government officers should purchase their requirements from Indian manufacturers, if the price be the same as imported goods, and provided that the

quality of the Indian manufactures is in no way inferior to that of imported goods. A benevolent inactivity is not the attitude we have a right to expect from Government, and indefinite promises of assistance are not of any practical value. Nothing short of definite and fully authorized assurances of support, confirmed, if necessary, by legislative enactment, should satisfy us. Indefinite promises in such matters are subject to different interpretations by different people. You will pardon my quoting an instance to emphasize the discouraging treatment industrial concerns receive in this country at the hands of Government. A few years ago the Government required a large quantity of materials for the State railways, and an Indian concern asked that it might be allowed to supply these. The local manufacturers were asked if they would agree to their goods being subjected to the same tests as the English manufactures were, and on their agreeing to this, it might reasonably have been expected that the Government would have willingly paid the same rate in India as the cost of the same goods from England. Instead of this, it was stipulated that the goods should be supplied at 5 per cent. less than the imported cost.

“ We should also agitate for the abolition, or at least reduction, of the gigantic Store Department of the India Office in England. When the Store Department of the India Office was established, conditions were entirely different to

what they are to-day, and it was not possible to obtain locally the requirements of Government. There are now hundreds of firms of repute established in India capable of supplying the requirements of all the State Departments. The competition, and the staff which the Government of India now has in India, would insure all goods being supplied at rates quite as low as at present, when the saving that would be effected by the abolition of this Department is taken into account. Illustrative of the attitude of Government towards the local purchase of stores, I may be permitted to refer to a recent order on the subject. The Government of India issued on October 29 last a revised rule for the supply of articles for public service. It says : ‘ When serious inconvenience to the public service would be caused by waiting to obtain an article from England through the Director-General of Stores, or when, owing to the greater promptitude of supply, an economy can be effected by purchasing in India articles which, under the foregoing rules, should be obtained through the Store Department, the purchase may be made in India, subject to Rule 13, provided that the articles are already in India at the time of order ; but in such cases, if the value of the articles exceed Rs. 50, the sanctioning officer should place on record the reasons which make the local purchase desirable. This record shall be available for the inspection of the Examiner of

Accounts or the supervising officer when required.' When we read through the above order carefully, we note that it begins with the qualification that, when a *serious* inconvenience (the word 'serious' is important) would be caused ; and it goes on to say that when an *economy* can be effected by purchasing in India ; and concludes by saying that when the value of the articles exceeds Rs. 50, the sanctioning officer should place on record the reasons which make the local purchase desirable.

" I should like to refer briefly to one other important matter. We often see articles in Indian newspapers, or hear speeches from public platforms, condemning the use of foreign (English) capital for the development of Indian industries. But, I am afraid, those who hold such views do not seriously consider the question in all its aspects. Apart from the fact that foreign capital is only attracted by signs of peace and prosperity, and that we know that foreign capital is welcome in any other country for the development of her industries, an important consideration for us in India arises from the fact that, for our own good, it is wise to allow British capitalists to interest themselves in our industries, and thus take an active part in their development. That industrial enterprise can be successful in India is amply proved by the many large and thriving industries, representing millions of capital, which already exist ; and it is a

reproach to us, as a people, that practically the whole of these, with the exception of a certain number on the Bombay side, have been financed and developed by English capital and energy. It is true that when these industries were first started our countrymen had little interest in or knowledge of such enterprises, but that attitude is rapidly changing, and it should be our aim and endeavour to emulate the example set us by our English fellow-subjects, and to join with them in the industrial development of India. Our success in this direction lies in creating for them a personal interest in our concerns, as, without their help, co-operation, and guidance, it is doubtful if we should succeed either in our industries or in securing such form of Protection as will solidly establish such industries.

“ Most of my remarks, up to the present, apply to large concerns, requiring considerable capital. But we must not lose sight of the smaller industries, such as tanning, dyeing, soap and match making, and sugar manufacturing concerns, which only require a capital ranging from Rs. 50,000 to two lakhs. These have of late received an impetus from the Swadeshi movement, inaugurated three or four years ago. But for want of practical support on the part of men of our middle classes these concerns are not thriving as much as we could wish. There is no lack of so-called enthusiasm, but I may be pardoned if I say it is only lip-enthusiasm on the part of many

of our countrymen. There are many who are loud in their praises of Swadeshim and the revival of Indian industries, but their patriotism is not equal to the practical test of assisting in the finance of such enterprises. Amongst the most prosperous of our middle-class men are those of the legal profession, and members of that profession, owing to their higher and better education, are the natural leaders of the middle-classes. They represent us in councils, in municipalities —in short, in all public bodies. If these gentlemen, who are so ready in offering suggestions for the encouragement of Indian industries, would each put down, say, but one month's earnings out of a whole year for investment in industrial concerns, there would be less difficulty in raising capital for the development of our industries. I count many personal and intimate friends amongst the members of the legal profession, and I hope they know me well enough not to take amiss the charge I have brought against them. I feel sure that they themselves will admit it is not unfounded.

“ As I have said before, a great stimulus has been given to the promotion, improvement, and expansion of small industries by the recent revival of Swadeshi feeling. In this land of ours, from time immemorial up to the middle of the last century, our artisans and craftsmen were justly celebrated all over the world for their skill, and the products of their craftsmanship

were in great demand in foreign countries. But from the middle of the last century—that is, from the period when steam-power was perfected and manufacturing science made such great strides—our manufactures have steadily declined and our industries have languished. To such perfection has manufacturing by machinery now been brought that it has become impossible for our artisans and craftsmen to make even the scantiest livelihood, and the industries are consequently either dead or moribund. This is a matter of common knowledge. But what I should like to emphasize and especially draw your attention to is that, for want of elementary education, the artisan and craftsmen classes, even if they had the necessary capital, cannot appreciate the advantage of introducing machinery to cheapen the cost of production. They are very conservative in their ideas, and nothing but the spread of education amongst this class will induce them to welcome and make use of mechanical improvements, which would enable them to compete on more equal terms with the machine-made production. I have come in contact, in my experience of over twenty-five years, with thousands of artisans and mechanics of different grades. Their natural intelligence and hereditary aptitude make them skilful workmen in their respective callings, and they do their work, under proper guidance, with a care and skill in no way inferior to the same class of workmen in any part

of the world. But, being universally illiterate, and thus shut out from a knowledge of any improved methods in their respective trades, they make no advancement or progress throughout their lives, and are content to continue working on lines that for generations have become obsolete. They are handicapped by the want of that primary education which their fellow-workmen in other countries have enjoyed for several generations. This state of things has for some time been felt to be unsatisfactory, and the Indian Government have recently created a separate Education Department for the better advancement of education. The time is therefore opportune for this Conference to approach the Government to extend the system of Primary Education, and, when the time is ripe, to make elementary education compulsory. It has been said that one great difference between India and Japan is, that in India 95 per cent. of the population *cannot* read, and in Japan 95 per cent. *can*, and this, I am convinced, is the real secret of the disparity that exists between the commercial development of India and Japan.

“ And now, gentlemen, I pass to a subject which, though, strictly speaking, not industrial development, is so bound up and intimately connected therewith as to form an integral part of any well-considered scheme of this kind. I refer to the building of new Railways and extensions to existing ones. I think we all recognize that

the Government of this country has for years followed a consistent policy of building trunk and main lines, as far as the funds at their disposal warranted, and these lines, which may be described as the main arteries of the commercial life of India, are in a prosperous and thoroughly sound condition, and form a most valuable asset of the people. I think you will agree with me that this portion of the railway development of India is being well looked after by Government. What, however, I wish to draw attention to is the vast opening which exists for light feeder railways. The main lines of railway are made chiefly to establish communication between important towns and seaports, and to carry the export and import trade of the country. They must, of necessity, leave untouched large intermediate tracts, and these provide an unlimited field for cheaply constructed feeder lines, which would provide facilities for a traffic which is not sufficient to justify the construction of an expensive broad-gauge line.

“ Such lines should be constructed on terms sufficiently liberal to attract what has been aptly termed the ‘buried millions of India.’ Government has endeavoured to meet this undoubted want in the new ‘branch line terms,’ which are much more liberal than those they have superseded. These, however, in my opinion, do not go far enough. It is true that the rebate terms give a reasonable certainty of a minimum return,

where the lead over the main line is sufficiently long. It is otherwise where the light railway is situated within a short distance of the port or city to which its traffic is destined. In such cases something more is needed. There are already a number of successful light railways, constructed and worked under a District Board guarantee of 4 per cent., with a division of profits above that figure ; but every District Board is not financially strong enough to contemplate lightly such a guarantee, with the present means of raising funds allowed by the law. The branch line terms, by raising the ‘rebate-guaranteed’ interest to 5 per cent., encourage the construction of branch lines under certain conditions, but cut the ground from under the feet of those promoted by District Boards with a guarantee of 4 per cent.

“It is a fact beyond contention that more lines of the ‘light narrow-gauge railway’ type would be constructed were the District Boards encouraged to promote such within their districts. Such bodies are, or should be, the best judges of local needs and the possibilities of financial success or otherwise. A few years ago there was an Act before Government authorizing District Boards to levy a special cess for the purpose of guaranteeing such lines, and it is my belief that such an Act is necessary. Its terms should empower the District Boards to levy such a cess, and should provide that such revenue as

might be received from a share in the surplus profits might be put against the amount so raised. It would be necessary, however, in order to bring the Act into line with the branch line terms, to raise the District Board guarantee to 5 per cent. It has probably been noticed by many of you here that during the last decade monetary conditions seemed to have changed, and people who were previously content with a safe return of 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. now look for a much higher return. It is not for me to attempt to diagnose the economic conditions which have brought about this feeling, but it is not common to India alone. In the past it has, at favourable opportunities, been possible to raise capital on a District Board guarantee of 4 per cent. in the same manner as it was possible for Government to raise loans cheaper than it is at present, but that time seems to have passed, and it is now necessary to offer more liberal terms.

“ I would ask our new Commercial Member and the Railway Board to give this question their consideration, as it is possible that the effect the new branch line terms would have on the promotion of District Board lines was not considered. It may be possible, in some form or other, to combine the District Board guarantee with a rebate from the main line on interchanged traffic. Talking about the Railway Board, as a commercial man, I would like to see a commercial or financial expert as one of the members.

As at present constituted, the Board is what I may call a technical one. Each member has wide and expert experience and knowledge in the construction and working of railways; but, inasmuch as railways are inseparably connected with the commercial interests and development of the country, what is wanted, in my humble opinion, is an additional member who should be a commercial and financial expert. I will give an instance where the trade of the country is suffering for want of such knowledge.

“ In the Central Provinces we have a valuable industry that requires to be fostered, or it will die out altogether. I refer to the trade in manganese ore. This trade, so far as India is concerned, only came into existence a few years ago, when, after much prospecting, valuable mines were discovered. The chief rival of Indian manganese is the Russian ore from mines in the Caucasus, where, it is reported, sufficient ore exists to continue producing at the rate of 6,00,000 to 7,00,000 tons per annum for the next twenty or thirty years; therefore the competition with Indian ore must continue. In quality the Indian ore is somewhat superior to the Russian, and, given reasonable facilities in transport, would always be able to hold its own on the European markets. As a matter of fact, however, the exports of manganese from India have been steadily on the decline, and during the last three years our competitors in Russia are

actually going ahead. In 1908 (January to September) the imports of Caucasian ore into the home market were 2,86,416 tons ; in 1909, for the same period, they advanced to 4,26,488 tons ; and up to September 30 of the present year have reached 5,85,205 tons. The trade, therefore, from Russia has doubled itself in three years, and this is entirely due to the reduced transport charges sanctioned by the Russian Government, with the object of fostering and holding the trade. To enable India to retain some portion of the trade it is necessary to reduce the railway freight from the mines to the port. Such a reduction as would enable this to be done would still leave the railways concerned a handsome profit, inasmuch as a large proportion of the waggons now returning empty, particularly on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, would then be carrying manganese.

“ Before I conclude, I would like to say a few words about Agriculture, which, as we must all admit, is the mainstay of the country. Two-thirds of the population of India are directly dependent on Agriculture. Both the Government of India and the Local Governments are making serious efforts for the improvement of Agriculture, according to recent scientific methods. As we are all aware, a splendidly equipped Scientific College has been established at Pusa under the Government of India. Local Governments have also provided provincial agricultural colleges, with a home-farm attached, for

imparting instruction in improved methods of agriculture. But I have my misgivings as to the amount of direct good these schemes will achieve in proportion to the money expended by Government. For want of elementary education amongst the cultivators, the sons of middle-class men, who have hitherto been educated to earn a livelihood as clerks, etc., are largely admitted into these colleges, and they will doubtless, in course of time, acquire a knowledge of Agriculture according to recent scientific methods. The question that arises, however, is, How will such students employ the knowledge thus acquired, at enormous expense, in actual, practical cultivation. Throughout India cultivation, as a rule, is carried on by the cultivators themselves in small lots of from 3 to 20 acres, according to their means and the number of men in the family. These cultivators carry on the work according to their own ideas, and it is very difficult—almost insurmountably so—to persuade them to adopt any new suggestions or improved means which involve extra expenditure at the beginning. I also know from my own personal experience that they are very averse to allow any improvements or experiments to be carried on in their fields, even if they do not bear the extra expense. The students of these Agricultural Colleges have, generally speaking, either no land to cultivate or no capital to start work, even on a moderate scale. There

is very little land, suitable for cultivation, which is not already cultivated, except jungle land, which might be cleared, or such places as the Sundarbans. Few of our landed aristocrats or Zemindars have large areas in their Khas possession which they would be willing to place at the service of these students to experiment with. The only satisfactory solution seems to be the elementary education of the ryots, to enable them to appreciate the advantages they would derive by adopting improved methods of agriculture, and by joining together in small groups to utilize the services and advice of the students who graduate from the Agricultural Colleges. I am not an advocate of compulsory education at this stage. This is impracticable for many reasons, but there is no doubt that, without the extensive spread of primary education amongst the illiterate classes, both artisan and cultivator, there is very little hope of any real improvement or advancement in either small industries or Agriculture.

“ Here, in sight of this great Industrial Exhibition, we should indeed be lacking in gratitude (a quality which, despite our critics, we are by no means deficient in) if we did not acknowledge our indebtedness to the Government and all those who have worked so hard to make it a success. Many of us may have our misgivings that here again the ultimate result—the industrial advancement of our country—achieved by this effort will

not be commensurate with the expenditure of money upon it, for the same reason that many thousands of the visitors have not had sufficient education to appreciate what they see. But I am sure that we all realize the good intentions which prompted the Government to organize this Exhibition, and appreciate the devotion and energy with which Sir John Hewett and his officers have worked to make it a success. There is no doubt that these exhibitions do a great deal of good, but until the industrial development of the country has made considerably more advance than is the case at present, they are very much on a par with a manufacturer who spends large sums on advertising in a country the inhabitants of which cannot read the language in which he advertises.

“I thank you, gentlemen, for the indulgent hearing you have given me. The subjects I have spoken of are not new to you. They are old ideas in other clothing. If I have succeeded in placing them before you in a different guise and in a manner that has brought forth fresh ideas and new thoughts, I shall feel that I have not occupied so much of your time in vain. Allow me again to express my thanks for the cordial welcome I have received and appreciation of the confidence you have shown in me in electing me your Chairman.”

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

THE question of industrial development in India has been so often discussed at length that it might be considered scarcely worth while to add to the papers on the subject, but I think that its importance can hardly be too strongly impressed upon my countrymen, and general attention has been particularly attracted to it by a perusal of the Address published in the previous Chapter delivered by Sir Rajendra Mookerjee. Very few are better qualified to represent the view of the Indian community, and, as he had the offer of the Indian membership of the new Executive Council in Bengal, the estimation in which he is held must be acknowledged. As his firm, Messrs. Martin and Co., is well known in London, and as he has paid several visits to England, his views will interest the British public.

Since facts must be recognized—for they have a way of asserting themselves if they are not—it will be admitted that for some time past an industrial revolution has made a commencement in India, similar in principle to that which

passed over England in the middle of the eighteenth century. It is the change to which Sir Theodore Morison devoted the lectures collected in his interesting book, "The Economic Transition in India." Such a change, affecting so vast an area and so many millions of workers, requires time for its expansion. It cannot be promulgated by imperial ukase, to come into force from a given date ; it depends upon factors which are themselves progressive, it may be impeded by circumstances beyond its control. The mainsprings of industrial revolution have been steam-power and communications ; the main obstacle to its development in any single country is international competition.

Turning to Sir Rajendra Mookerjee's address, it will be found that his remarks may be divided, though he has not so separated them, into what has been done in the past and what has to be done in the future, to assist the industrial development, without which a country cannot advance ; and, if it does not advance, it must, in these days of universal rivalry, recede in comparative greatness. The British connection is the starting-point for India ; the establishment of the *Pax Britannica* inaugurated the new era. In order to settle the country, communications, roads, canals, and, later, railroads and inland steamers, have been and are being pushed forward and utilized ; steam-power has been applied wherever possible to industrial undertakings ; machinery

has taken the place of manual labour to a great extent ; electricity is being generally introduced. The Government in India have not been unmindful of the fact that the prosperity of a country depends not only upon its politics and successful campaigns, but also upon its internal development. For this purpose Engineering Colleges have been established, such as, for instance, those at Roorkee, Poona, and Shibpore ; technical schools and institutions have been started in many places. The Universities give Degrees in Science and Engineering ; scholarships are available at some places, to admit of their holders devoting themselves to the preliminary acquisition of the necessary knowledge. Sir Rajendra Mookerjee mentions that poor Bengali students have been sent abroad to Europe and America at the public expense to acquire scientific knowledge. Industrial Conferences have been held, and "technical papers, dealing exhaustively with various industries, have been read from time to time at these Conferences, by men eminently qualified so to speak, containing most valuable suggestions for the industrial development we are so anxious to see established." Sir Rajendra refers to the technical journals in India dealing with practically every class of industry that is capable of development in the country. The Governments also have had inquiries made by experienced officials regarding the existing arts, crafts, and industries, and have published the informa-

tion so gathered. Monographs have been issued regarding paper-making, the manufacture of wire and tinsel, the preservation and curing of fish in Madras, the salt-boiling industry in Burma, and the hand-loom industry in Bombay.* “Endeavours are being made in all Provinces to improve the important and widespread domestic cotton industry by introducing better types of hand-looms and superior methods of manufacture, in order that their products may compete more successfully with goods manufactured by power-looms in India, or imported from abroad. . . . In Bengal improved methods are taught at the Serampore Weaving School, and at outlying centres.” For the improvement of the agricultural industry, which employs by far the greater proportion of the population of India, the Government have established at Pusa a splendidly equipped Scientific College, and the Provincial Governments have provided their separate Agricultural Colleges, with farms attached, for imparting instruction in improved methods of Agriculture. The Swadeshi movement has been set on foot, which, so far as it is political and provocative of violence, may be unhesitatingly condemned; but so far as it aims at the encouragement of indigenous industries in a proper spirit has received the support, in public speeches, of the late Viceroy and other high officials.

So far for the theory. On the practical side

* Moral and Material Progress Report, India, 1909-10, p. 56.

a very substantial commencement has been made. The cotton mills of Bombay, the jute mills of Calcutta, Howrah and Narainganj, the coal-mines of Raniganj, Jherria, and elsewhere, the factories for the manufacture of various materials at Cawnpore, all employ a considerable number of hands. In the Moral and Material Progress Report * for 1909-10 the information is summarized as follows :—

“ The total number of factories worked by mechanical (including electrical) power owned by companies or private persons in British India and in Native States was 2,418 in 1909. In these the average daily number of operatives was 776,662. A classified list of the more important is given below :

Description of Factory.	No. of Works.	No. of Operatives.
Cotton presses	1,074	89,217
Cotton mills	225	218,321
Jute presses	146	28,666
Jute mills	59	203,286
Silk filatures	10	1,656
Rice mills	207	18,726
Flour mills	34	2,942
Sugar Factories	22	4,559
Saw mills	101	8,835
Iron and brass foundries ...	82	22,932
Indigo factories	51	18,787
Tile factories	25	3,542
Oil mills	21	1,907
Printing presses	68	13,383
Dockyards	15	11,971
Railway workshops, etc. ...	58	71,172

"There were also 538 factories not worked by mechanical power, employing 79,954 persons. Of the 1,074 factories for the ginning, cleaning, and pressing of cotton, there were 376 in the Central Provinces and Berar, 358 in Bombay, 134 in the Panjab, and 132 in the United Provinces. In Bombay about 190,000 operatives are employed in different branches of the cotton industry. In Madras and the Central Provinces and Berar, as in Bombay, cotton weaving and spinning are the principal industries. In Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam there is an increasing number of jute presses. Silk filatures and indigo factories are found chiefly in Bengal. Flour mills are most numerous in the Panjab, and sugar factories in Bengal. Rice mills and saw mills are most numerous in Burma, rice and tea being the two principal products of the Province. They are mainly in European hands, and are the only large industries in Burma organized and worked by Western methods. Printing-presses are numerous in Bombay, Bengal and Madras. Iron and brass foundries (including engineering workshops) number twenty-eight in Bengal and twenty in Bombay. Only one Company manufactures iron on European lines in Bengal, and its production is confined to pig-iron. Another firm is erecting blast furnaces and steel-rolling mills in the Singhbhum district. There were 117 factories belonging to the State and to local bodies, and

employing 65,505 persons. Among these were 19 printing-presses, 23 railway workshops, 11 canal foundries and engineering workshops, and 18 military arsenals and factories."

Thus, while substantial efforts are being made to promote all industries, which appear, when properly organized, to give promise of success, a great deal has been done to diffuse widely the knowledge of modern manufactures which has been collected.

It would be easy to extend the account of what has been done in the direction of the industrial development of India, and some facts regarding the production of minerals may not be uninteresting. Much has been done in recent years to develop the mineral resources of India. "The minerals that have been chiefly worked are those which can be consumed by direct process on the spot, or which, owing to their abundance and cheapness, are suitable for export in the raw state. . . . By far the most important minerals are coal and gold, the production of which in 1909 was valued at £2,780,000, and £2,205,000 respectively, followed by petroleum, £910,000; salt, £454,000; and manganese ore, £508,000." * These figures have some significance as representing good beginnings, but they should be surpassed in the near future, and, after all, the fact remains that, apart from Agriculture, all the industries put together only employ a mere

* Moral and Material Progress Report, 1910, p. 53.

fraction of the 315 millions of India. The surface, so to speak, of industrial development has only been scratched hitherto.

It is time to examine Sir Rajendra Mookerjee's suggestions as to the course to be adopted in future. They may be taken, generally, in the order in which they stand in his address. Firstly, he recognizes the necessity for "expert knowledge as well as men of undoubted practical experience in the particular industry which we desire to establish." This view cannot be gainsaid. But it is perfectly impossible to expect from Bengali or other students, sent out into the world to acquire knowledge and practical training within a limited time, proof of such capacity for managing industrial concerns as can only be gained by lengthy experience. Nor would his next suggestion—the establishment by Government of a well-equipped Technical College (with proper workshops and up-to-date laboratories)—afford opportunities for the acquisition of capacity for management, though it would undoubtedly admit of University students continuing their scientific education, and acquiring practical knowledge, so far as workshops and laboratories can supply it.

Education and knowledge can be pumped into the student, but there is no royal road for instruction in "capacity of management." A Clive, with inferior education, may be a better manager of men or of an industrial concern than

the most learned student. In many walks of life, whether, for instance, it is for the management of a large newspaper, or of other business concerns, there is no rule of selection ; the man who, on general consideration and his past record, is regarded as the most promising for the managership would be chosen for the post. In the early days of industrial development there can be no guarantee of capacity for management, and difficulties may arise ; but as time advances, and men have been found capable of filling smaller charges, this particular difficulty—of finding capable Managers—should disappear. The outline offered by Sir Rajendra Mookerjee for the constitution of a Central Technical College is, indeed, only a rough one, which requires to be supplemented with full detail, but when all is said, a Technical College must be primarily a teaching-place, and nothing can prove the student's capacity for the management of an industrial concern except his success in the business of life in some executive or administrative charge. So long as this gap exists—that is, between the supply of highly educated students and the demand for capable Managers—Sir Rajendra Mookerjee is perfectly right in his next advice, that earnest workers should not hesitate to engage foreign experts, and abandon the prejudices of the narrow-minded Swadeshi, which would exclude all foreigners. Though many large industrial concerns are now,

in India, exclusively under management by Indians, there are others in which Englishmen have not only been pioneers, but are necessarily retained in charge of the management, whether by the design of the Board of Directors, or the shareholders, or by the nature of the work required. The main question should be the success of the concern. It is much better for the country that it should prosper under capable European management, than fail through some high-flown idea of pseudo-patriotism. Europeans may be expected to retire to Europe as soon as possible. It is for the native subordinates to show their capacity for conducting the concerns ; and as they could presumably do so on lower salaries and more cheaply than Europeans, they have every chance of succeeding in due course to the management.

The question of the capital required for industrial development in India is no new one. Sir Rajendra Mookerjee refers to the infancy of private enterprise, and the failure in attracting Indian capital even to sound profits. Sir Rajendra says the reasons for the failure are want of industrial and commercial knowledge on the part of Indian capitalists, and disinclination to depart from traditional methods of investing and lending money. When 12 per cent. can easily be obtained on the mortgage of house property, it is hardly to be expected that the Indian capitalist will care to receive only $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent. Sir

Rajendra Mookerjee refers to the establishment of confidence as a necessary preliminary in the public mind. That is the key to the whole matter of obtaining capital for any undertaking. The ordinary Indian likes to have his savings available in a tangible shape, even if he gets no interest upon them ; he therefore hoards them, or invests them in jewellery for the women of his family. He has no confidence in lending—that is, investing—money for the sake of low interest ; he requires, like the “bunnia” (money-lender), a high rate of interest to cover his risks. This sensitiveness of Indian capital is naturally enhanced when, through inexperience, small industrial experiments result in failure, and success cannot be guaranteed. Sir Rajendra Mookerjee is right in alluding to the amount of risk and uncertainty involved in new industries, and he throws out a hint that the Government might foster them by granting bounties, or even by preferential duties. Here, again, facts must be looked in the face. It is not the policy of England to grant bounties or preferential duties, and it would take much more pressure than India can exert to induce the Government to change its deep-rooted policy. But if the Indian Joint Stock Companies Act requires modification to adapt it more fully to the conditions of India, the Government would doubtless be willing to legislate and introduce such changes as may be deemed to be reasonable. It is remarkable that

the suggestion should be made that an Indian Act should be brought more into line with the new English Act of 1908. Presuming the Government to be serious in its professed desire to promote industrial development, there ought to be no difficulty in procuring the changes required in the law.

Sir Rajendra Mookerjee's remarks as to the formation of efficient Boards of Directors, the proper selection of Managing Agents, and the adaptation to India of the English revised Patent Law, are well worthy of consideration. The point to be noticed is that he advocates so clearly the introduction of commercial European gentlemen on to the Boards, and the utilization of English law with adaptations for India.

The whole question of the provision of capital has to be regarded from two aspects. There are large concerns which require considerable amounts, and there are smaller enterprises—tanning, dyeing, soap and match making, and sugar manufacturing are given as specimens—which only require a capital ranging from Rs. 5,000 (£333) to Rs. 200,000 (£13,333). For the former it has been found that Indian capital is not yet generally forthcoming, though a commencement has been made with the Tata steel and ironworks project. Sir Rajendra Mookerjee's judgment is sound in welcoming British capital for large concerns, and British Directors must accompany the capital, though, if they are wise,

they will co-opt Indian colleagues to interpret to them the special peculiarities of the country. But British capital is as sensitive as any other, and is easily put off by suspicions of Indian unrest, or apprehensions of political danger. It is for the smaller enterprises that Indian capital should be made available. Sir Rajendra Mookerjee appeals to the members of the legal profession to invest at least one month's earnings out of a whole year in industrial concerns. There are other classes, too, of the population who have spare cash available, if they could only be induced to utilize it in this way. Landowners, merchants, shopkeepers, might come forward, if they could be inspired with sufficient confidence. This is the main crux of industrial development, to get the smaller capitalists to subscribe for local enterprises. It is only equalled by the difficulty of selecting the particular form of industry on which to embark. The situation is not hopeless, but patience is necessary. Co-operative credit may prove to be the key for opening out the congestion hitherto prevailing.

“These societies (formed under the Co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904) have been started by Government as an experiment, in order that the poorer classes, and more particularly the cultivators, may be enabled to borrow money at reasonable rates, and may, at the same time, learn self-help and self-dependence. The Registrars are Government officials, and Govern-

ment aid is given in various ways ; but aid is also enlisted from educated, non-official gentlemen with local influence. . . . The general rule of rural credit societies is to work with unlimited liability, and without share capital ; the majority of urban societies, on the other hand, have limited liability. The Indian Act does not permit rural societies to pay dividends.”* The working of the Act during the last few years has shown the points in which it admits of improvement ; so that a Bill to amend the law relating to co-operative societies was introduced into the Legislative Council at Calcutta in conformity with suggestions made by a Conference of Registrars. “The new measure applies not only to co-operative credit societies, but to all co-operative societies, including those for production and distribution. Societies are to be classified as Societies, with limited and with unlimited liability respectively, and not as rural and urban, though the principle is retained that Agricultural Credit Societies must generally be with unlimited liability. Unlimited liability Societies are to be allowed, with the Local Government’s sanction, to distribute profits. The formation of Co-operative Credit Societies, of which the members shall be other Co-operative Credit Societies, is to be legalized. Numerous minor changes are proposed.” †

* Moral and Material Progress Report, 1909-10, p. 46.

† *Ibid.*, p. 48.

There is much force in Sir Rajendra Mookerjee's assertion, that for want of elementary education the artisan and craftsmen classes, even if they had the necessary capital, cannot appreciate the advantage of introducing machinery to cheapen the cost of production. They are often naturally intelligent, and have an inherited aptitude for their own callings ; but their innate conservativeness and want of education prevent their making any advance in the use of machinery or any other direction. A comparison of India with Japan in respect of literacy is entirely in favour of the latter. Sir Rajendra Mookerjee does not advocate compulsory education at the present stage, but he speaks strongly in favour of Primary Education ; and few in these days will differ from him, though it was not always so. The whole question of Primary Education is receiving the attention of Government, and it is principally a question of money, though the want of qualified teachers in sufficient numbers for the enormous country is also a serious obstacle. The solution of the difficulty would be greatly facilitated if the recipients of the Primary Education could be required to contribute a larger proportion of its cost. Meanwhile the almost universal illiteracy of the possibly industrial population is a factor in the problem of industrial development that has to be seriously regarded.

The question of distribution is one of special importance in connection with industrial develop-

ment, as without adequate communications the products of the country would have no outlet. It was therefore not unreasonable for Sir Rajendra Mookerjee, whose firm is constantly engaged in the construction of light railways, to draw attention to the want of them in many parts of the country where they might act as feeders to the broad-gauge lines; and it was fairly open to him to contend that the new "branch line terms" lately sanctioned by Government are not liberal enough. This is a point upon which there would be room for two or more opinions, and it is unnecessary here to enter into any details. But the whole matter has to be considered from an entirely different point of view. District Boards have for years been authorized to have light railways constructed and worked under a District Board guarantee of interest payable from their general funds. Sir Rajendra Mookerjee appears to advocate legislation to authorize the levy of a special cess for the purpose of guaranteeing such lines. But light railways are not the only matters to be considered. In a country like India it is essential to keep taxation as low as possible; it is all the same to the ryot whether the sums he has to pay are called Imperial or local taxation, or a special cess. He may or may not benefit from the construction of the particular light railway; but when it is thought politic to relieve him of the slight incubus of the salt tax,

it is hardly wise to impose a special cess for the purpose in question. The Decentralization Commission, I am aware, proposed (paragraph 765 of their report) that legislation for such purposes should be permissible to District Boards, but the broad political principle of keeping taxation as low as possible has yet to be overcome. It is clear that the question of facility of transport and reduction of freight charges must be considered in connection with distribution, but whether the Railway Board should be composed of technical, or commercial, or financial experts is a point which appears to me to be somewhat remote from the subject of industrial development.

I have particularly kept for the last the subjects of Local Purchases (in India) and the Store Department of the India Office in England, on which Sir Rajendra Mookerjee addressed the Industrial Conference with some emphasis. It is obvious that the local purchase of Government requirements in India, and the supply of stores from the India Office must vary inversely. If the wants of the Governments in India can be supplied in the local markets, there is *pro tanto* less demand for European stores. In this case Indian manufacturers are encouraged, and local industries may be developed. There has been for many years a constant struggle between, on the one hand, the Store Department, endeavouring to retain, if not to increase, the supply of the

Government requirements, and, on the other hand, the Government of India endeavouring to enlarge the field for industrial development. But in their own interests the Government of India cannot submit to the supply of inferior articles.

The history of the question is edifying. So long ago as 1862* the Secretary of India requested that the growing practice of obtaining stores of English manufacture otherwise than through the Store Department might be checked. In 1873-74† a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Departments (Purchases, etc.) examined the Director-General of Stores, and recorded his evidence, which explained fully the system of the Store Department, and showed that the purchases of that Department then amounted to about £1,600,000 annually. In 1876‡ a Committee sitting on that Department recommended the grant of discretion to the authorities in India as to their agency for obtaining supplies of all sorts, subject to certain exceptions and conditions as to payment and inspection. The Committee aimed at the reduction of the payments for stores in England,

* Indian Expenditure Commission's Report, C. 8259, of 1896, Appendix 35, vol. ii., p. 238.

† Reports from the Select Committee ordered by the House to be printed, July 18, 1873, p. 183, and July 3, 1874. Conclusion, paragraphs 117-140.

‡ Indian Expenditure Commission's Report, C. 8259, of 1896, Appendix 35, vol. ii., p. 238.

and the encouragement of Indian manufactures. The exceptions were engineering, railway and telegraph plant and materials, malt liquor, clothing for European troops, military supplies, and generally any stores of a special character, or of which large stocks were required. The Secretary of State approved* the Committee's views, and in due course the Government of India submitted† two lists: (a) stores to be obtained through the India Office, and (b) those to be obtained by local purchase, or direct from Europe or America from manufacturers, or through private agents. Later, the Secretary of State‡ desired that supplies should be obtained in India through local agency there, but the Government of India objected to this restriction. In 1880§ the Director-General of Stores obtained a reconsideration of the whole question with a view to the restriction of local purchase to articles actually produced in India, or found in the general trade of the country, of quality and price comparing favourably with purchases through the India Office. The Secretary of State addressed the Government of India,|| who in 1880 issued orders which were in force up to the date of Lord Welby's Commission in 1895-1897.¶ The orders, substantially, were:

* Indian Expenditure Commission's Report, C. 8259, of 1896, Appendix 35, vol. ii., p. 238.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Ibid.

¶ *Ibid.*

“All stores required for the public service which cannot be manufactured in India are, as an almost invariable rule, to be obtained by indenting on the Secretary of State. Stores of European manufacture must not be bought in India, or obtained direct from Europe, independently of the India Office. The special cases in which, with the previous sanction of the Government of India or the Local Government, this rule may be departed from are—(1) When it may be more economical to do so; (2) to prevent inconvenience to the public service when stores have not arrived from England; (3) when the articles are perishable. The Resolution further prescribed rules for the—(a) preparation and forwarding of indents; (b) the procedure to be observed in obtaining books, newspapers, etc., independently of the India Office; (c) the preparation of annual estimates of stores required from England; (d) the preparation of the annual return called for by the Secretary of State, showing the extent to which local purchase had been resorted to.

“With regard to the encouragement of local industry, the resolution impressed on local Governments the desirability of substituting articles of *bonâ fide* Indian manufacture for similar articles obtained from Europe, adding that, where articles of European and Indian manufacture did not differ materially in price and quality, preference should be given to the

latter. This was held to apply to articles produced or worked up in India from imported material. And, finally, it was pointed out that there were many articles which might not be immediately obtained in the local market, but which could be made in the event of the Government encouraging the manufacture."

The Indian Finance Committee in 1886* blamed the dilatoriness of the Store Department for having led to increased cost in the purchase of stores locally in India, and the Secretary of State eventually ruled that "true economy demanded that purchases in India should be limited to articles which could be produced or manufactured in that country of a quality and price comparing not unfavourably with those of similar articles of European manufacture. The result of this correspondence was to leave the rules of 1883 unchanged." In 1888† the Government of India sanctioned tentatively the local purchase of iron and steel for the Ordnance Department, and suggested the continuance of the arrangement, but the Secretary of State disallowed the proposal. Eventually an amended rule was sanctioned‡. When stores indented for from England had not arrived, or when a sudden emergency had arisen, and in either case only if serious inconvenience to the public service

* Indian Expenditure Commission's Report, C. 8259, of 1896, Appendix 35, vol. ii., p. 239.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

should be caused by waiting for the stores from England might local purchases be made.

Correspondence passed in 1889-90,* in which the Government of India advocated the extension of local purchases to encourage local industries, and finally the Secretary of State† expressed his pleasure at receiving evidence of the manufacturing progress of India, and authorized further local purchases, while guarding himself against any supposition that these measures were adopted in any other interests than those of economy, and against any claim for the Protection of local industry or for compensation or discontinuance of local purchasing. The orders of 1880-1883 have generally held the field, changes being made gradually in their interpretation.‡

Sir Rajendra Mookerjee quotes the revised rule issued by the Government of India on October 29, 1910, for the supply of articles for the public service thus :

“ When serious inconvenience to the public service would be caused by waiting to obtain an article from England through the Director-General of Stores, or when, owing to the greater promptitude of supply, an economy can be effected by purchasing in India articles which under the foregoing rules should be obtained

* Indian Expenditure Commission's Report, C. 8259, of 1896, Appendix 35, vol. ii., p. 240.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

through the Store Department, the purchase may be made in India, subject to Rule 13, provided that the articles are already in India at the time of order ; but in such cases, if the value of the articles exceed Rs. 50, the sanctioning officer should place on record the reasons which make the local purchase desirable. This record shall be available for the inspection of the Examiner of Accounts or the supervising officer when required."

In the Moral and Material Progress Report for 1909-10, already quoted, there is a relevant passage,* which runs : "There are standing orders that Stores required by Government shall, as far as practicable, be purchased in India. In March, 1909, it was ordered that purchasing officers shall in all cases give preference to articles manufactured in India from Indian materials (or from imported materials), provided that the quality is sufficiently good and the price not unfavourable. Detailed information regarding the kinds of articles required has recently been issued." The same report † states that the net expenditure in England on "stores of all kinds charged against revenue" amounted in 1908-09 to £1,281,998, and 1909-10 to £1,059,432. The figures for 1910-11 are £1,046,800. These sums cannot represent the total purchases in England, as the Statistical Abstract relating to British India for 1898-99 to

* P. 56.

† P. 14.

1907-08 shows Government stores imported into British India from foreign countries of amounts varying from £2,480,000 in 1898-99, to £6,020,000 in 1905-06 ; and the corresponding figures for 1909-10 are £3,727,225. Whatever the exact figures may be, it is evident that they are very high, and must so far operate in discouragement of the industrial development of India. The Government of India in theory desire to stimulate that development, and their orders inculcate the local purchase of Government requirements as far as practicable. The net result depends on the actual application of these orders in a number of petty instances. The whole matter revolves in a circle. Stores are purchased in England because the Government requirements cannot be fully supplied in India ; the Government requirements are not fully supplied in India (by industrial development) because of the purchases in England. Sir Rajendra Mookerjee is justified in calling attention to the Store Department, and suggesting agitation for its reduction. But are the hundreds of firms to which he alludes capable of supplying the Government requirements at lower or equal rates of cost, and with equally good materials ? The facts, I must repeat, must be faced. Government will supply itself in the cheapest market ; nor will it relax its principles of Free Trade ; so that international competition (with Germany, Japan, etc., etc.) has to be met. India has the great advantages of

abundance of raw materials and cheap labour. It is for the Chambers of Commerce, European and native, for her capitalists, for her workers, technically educated and travelled, to combine, and put their wits and money together, in the great cause of Indian industrial development.

A great deal of spade work has to be done before India can dream of industrial rivalry with Western nations. With all the talk of Swadeshi, there is neither an exhaustive Indian Commercial Directory, nor an Indian Business Encyclopædia to guide the novice. Such works of reference should first be carefully edited with European co-operation before true Swadeshi can make progress.

Sir Rajendra Mookerjee in his remarkable speech has made passing references to a number of industrial questions. He would confer a great boon on his countrymen if, during his next tour in Europe, he would collect facts, and give his countrymen the benefit of his European researches in the form of a book dealing with industrial co-operation, State control, Capital control, and Labour control of industrial organizations, to enable his countrymen to avoid business pitfalls. Good material for such a standard work is not obtainable in India, but Sir Rajendra Mookerjee will find, for instance, the State encouragement granted to industry in Hungary worth his study. It may be accepted that a successful business man like Sir Rajendra

Mookerjee is no visionary who believes that Indian goods are going to be protected against British competition, but the State regulations in Hungary for the encouragement of indigenous industries may suggest to him something which might be brought within the scope of practical politics.

I have quoted the figures from "The Moral and Material Progress of India" for 1910 in preference to that published in 1912, for the simple reason that only such official statistics as are contained in the Report for 1910 were available to Sir Rajendra Mookerjee when he discussed the subject. The Report presented to the House of Commons in June, 1912, shows further progress in the industrial development of India, but the figures do not materially affect Sir Rajendra Mookerjee's arguments. An expert engineer has recently been engaged in connection with the sugar-extracting industry in the United Provinces; the Chrome Tannery of the Madras Government has been made over to a Native State; and scholarships for the higher commercial and technical training of Indians abroad are offered by the Government and by private associations.

CHAPTER VI

COCHIN PORT FOR OCEAN LINERS

THE continuous development of trade with India during the last forty years is too well known to require fresh proof on every occasion ; but it may be well to quote here some figures to show the enormous magnitude to which it has attained, and it continues to grow every year.

The following figures taken from the latest Blue Book* give an idea of the enormous expansion of the sea-borne trade of India during the last five years :

Foreign Sea-borne Trade.	1907-08.	1911-12.
IMPORTS :		
Private merchandise - -	£ 86,669,735	£ 92,383,255
Government stores - -	4,428,635	3,653,703
Total merchandise - -	91,098,370	96,036,958
Treasure, private - -	21,880,286	35,614,729
,, Government - -	6,309,379	32,503
Total treasure - -	28,189,665	35,647,232
Total imports - -	119,288,035	131,684,190

* C. 6783 of 1913.

Foreign Sea-borne Trade.	1907-08.	1911-12.
EXPORTS :	£	£
Private merchandise :		
Indian produce and manu-factures - - -	115,727,126	147,878,013
Foreign ditto - - -	2,511,557	4,018,100
Total private merchandise	118,238,683	151,896,113
Government stores (Indian) -	43,074	38,649
,, (foreign)	41,848	57,392
Total Government stores	84,922	96,041
Total merchandise - -	118,323,605	151,992,154
Treasure, private - -	3,630,819	6,907,746
,, Government - -	1,515	8,191
Total treasure - -	3,632,334	6,915,937
Total exports - - -	121,955,939	158,908,091
Total sea-borne trade -	241,243,974	290,592,281

Lord Curzon, avoiding figures, gave a general description of the size of the Indian trade in his address at Edinburgh on October 19, 1909, on "The Place of India in the Empire." "One tenth," he said, "of the entire trade of the British Empire passes through the seaports of India; and this sea-borne trade is more than one-third of the trade of the Empire outside the United Kingdom. It is greater than that of Australia and Canada combined, and within the Empire Indian sea-borne trade is second only to that of the United Kingdom. India has

become the largest producer of food and raw material in the Empire, and the principal granary of Great Britain, the imports into the United Kingdom of wheat, meal, and flour, from India exceeding those of Canada, and being double those of Australia."

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the increased mileage of the railways in India, may be accepted as the main causes of this development of trade, regarded from two points of view, from without and from within. If the traveller in India has shown himself willing to take advantage of the facilities afforded by the extension of railways (as evidenced by the growing crowds of pilgrims to the holy places of Hinduism and Buddhism, and of foreign globe trotters), so has the Indian agriculturist been encouraged to expand his cultivation in the certainty of finding a market—and an improving market, too—as prices rise concurrently with greater demand. Thus trade follows the railway flag, and where the railways run down to the sea at the great Ports, measures have been continually taken to improve these outlets of trade. Port Trusts have been created, docks, quays, wharves constructed for sea-going steamers and coasting vessels, warehouses erected, machinery and appliances introduced, everything possible done to reduce charges and assist the growth of trade.

But in one important respect there has been

very little done. The number of the great Ports of India remains practically unaltered. Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi, and Rangoon, have enjoyed a monopoly for the regions in which they are respectively situated ; only of late years has belated attention been paid to the Port of Chittagong, in Eastern Bengal. It is not overlooked that there are smaller Ports, such as Akyab, Balasore, Coconada, Vizagapatam, Tuticorin, and those (several in Travancore) on the Malabar and Kathiawar coasts, at which some trade is carried on. These, however, are open roadsteads—subject to the influence of the monsoons and stormy weather—where the trading vessels, steamers or country craft, have to ride at anchor in the offing, perhaps miles from the shore, and to communicate with the mainland as best they can. So the fact remains, as stated, that the great Ports, in which energetic measures have been undertaken for their development, remain very limited in number. It is remarkable, to say the least, that the sea-borne trade of a huge continent like India—the trade of 315 millions of inhabitants of India—should have so limited a number of outlets, and that there should be no immediate prospect of an increase therein, unless the proposal I have to put forward is approved and acted upon forthwith.

The proposal is, briefly, that there is an excellent opening for the establishment of a new

Port by the Native State of Cochin for the export and import of the sea-borne trade of a large area in the south of the Indian Peninsula. I will now proceed to examine this proposal and make suggestions for its realization.

The history of the Cochin State and its former capital town, now called British Cochin, need not detain us long. In 1500 the Portuguese under Cabral landed at Cochin, and met with a friendly reception from the Raja. In 1502, Vasco da Gama, on his second voyage, visited Cochin and established a factory. The town passed from the hands of the Portuguese to the Dutch in 1663. The latter greatly improved the place and its trade, building substantial houses and erecting quays, etc. In 1776, Haidar Ali, of Mysore, conquered the Cochin State, but in 1791 his son, Tipu Sahib, ceded the sovereignty to the British, who entered into a treaty with the Raja of Cochin, by which he became tributary to the British Government for his territories; he has since paid an annual subsidy, which now amounts to two lakhs (£13,300). In 1795-96 the town of Cochin was captured from the Dutch by the British, and a few years later the old fortifications and buildings were blown up. The town was finally ceded to the East India Company under the Paris Convention of 1814. Treaties between the British Government and the Cochin State are still in force.*

* Aitchison's "Treaties and Sanads," vol. x.

The area of the State is $1361\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, and the population in 1911 was 918,110 persons, of whom 110,000 reside in nine towns, the remainder in rural areas. Of the population two-thirds are Hindus, some 64,000 Mahomedans, 233,000 Christians, and under 1,200 Jews. The density is 675 per square mile, which is equalled or exceeded by few States or Districts in India. No country in Europe has such a density as Cochin ; England and Wales, the most densely peopled country in Europe, have a density of only 619 per square mile. The density of the sea-board population is attributed mainly to the adaptability of its soil to the generous growth of the cocoanut palm. “The abundance of the cocoanut crop, the manifold industries to which its produce gives rise, and the facilities available in the way of communications and markets, enable these taluks to support in comfort a population which would starve in a tract where the staple crops are less valuable and less useful for industrial purposes. There are as yet no signs of acute pressure of the population on the soil, and it may therefore be predicted with more or less safety that the population will go on increasing at the normal rate, about 1 per cent. per annum, and that the population of the State at the end of the current decade will considerably exceed a million.”

The town of British Cochin is in the British District of Malabar, and has a population of

20,023 persons. It is about a mile in length by half a mile in breadth, situated in $9^{\circ} 58' N.$ and $76^{\circ} 14' E.$, within the limits of the Native State of Cochin. It lies at the northern extremity of a strip of land about 12 miles in length, running north and south.

To the north of British Cochin is the waterway entrance leading to the lagoons or backwaters on the east. To the north of this entrance is the Island of Vypeen, belonging to the Cochin State. This island lies between the backwaters just mentioned to the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. It is $14\frac{3}{4}$ miles long, with a mean breadth of $1\frac{3}{8}$ miles. The southern extremity, $23\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, is British territory, and at its northern end an area of nearly 2 square miles belongs to the State of Travancore. The total area of the island, including these portions, is a little over $22\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. It has been formed by deposits, and on it the cocoanut palm grows most luxuriantly.

The situation of British Cochin, commanding the entrance to the backwaters, soon attracted settlers, so that it became the successful rival of the Port of Cranganur. It is now the chief Port of Malabar and the third in importance in the Madras Presidency. It will be observed that British Cochin is well situated for trade in some respects ; but at present the steamers visiting it for sea-borne trade have to anchor between one and two miles from the shore in $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms of water. The backwaters above mentioned have

been thus described : “ One of the most striking physical features of the country is the continuous chain of lagoons or backwaters which run parallel to the Arabian Sea and receive the drainage of the numerous streams descending from the Western Ghats. They are very irregular in form, varying in breadth from four miles to a few dozen yards, and branch out into a number of intricate and shallow channels, sometimes containing low alluvial islands. They communicate with the sea at three points—Cochin, Cranganur, and Chetwai.” These backwaters extend north and south of the Cochin Port for upwards of 100 miles, and are fed by several rivers which flow through an immense area of rich country. The climatic conditions are such that this region has enjoyed an absolute immunity from famine, which can be said of very few parts of India. The backwaters form a magnificent natural harbour several square miles in area, with a deep-water basin of 7 to 9 fathoms near the mouth, which is kept from silting up by the heavy scour of the tides. The bar is said to be at a distance of about a mile from the shore, carrying a maximum of 18 feet of water and a minimum of 12 feet.

On the west side of the backwaters is Mattancheri, the commercial capital of the Cochin State, situated at $9^{\circ} 57' N.$ and $76^{\circ} 15' E.$, adjoining British Cochin. Its area is $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, with a population of 23,508 persons, of whom less

than half are Hindus, the remainder comprising about 6,000 Christians and 6,000 Mahomedans and 400 Jews. It is the centre of a considerable export and import trade which is almost entirely in the hands of Banias and Cutchi Menons from the Bombay Presidency. There are several oil-mills in the neighbourhood and a hydraulic press in the centre of the town.

On the east side of the backwaters and opposite to Mattancheri is Ernakulam, the capital of the Cochin State, a town of 21,195 inhabitants (11,000 Hindus, 8,600 Christians, 950 Mahomedans, 500 Jews), which is the terminus of a branch line of railways (metre gauge) opened in June, 1902, from Shoranur, on the south-west line of the Madras Railways. This branch line (65 miles in length) cost nearly 70 lakhs of rupees (£466,600), and is owned by the State, but was constructed and is worked and maintained by the Madras Railway Company. In 1903 the Government of India consented to the Cochin State raising a loan of 10 lakhs of rupees (£66,600) at 4 per cent. interest, repayable in fifteen years, to complete the construction of this railway and of a forest tramway 50 miles long. The Cochin State undertook to earmark, for the repayment of the loan and interest, the sum of Rs.1,10,500 (£7,300) a year, which is paid to it under the Interportal Convention of 1865 (more will be said hereafter of this Convention). The Cochin forests, it may be stated here, form one of the most valuable

assets of the State. Their approximate area is 605 square miles, or nearly half the area of the State. They were formerly, like other forests in India and Europe, destroyed ruthlessly ; but since 1898 a better system of administration has been inaugurated, so that revenue from this source is increasing enormously.

These are the leading features of the portion of the Cochin State where it is proposed that a new Port should be established. To recapitulate : There is the existing Port of British Cochin at the mouth of the entrance channel to the backwaters. This existing Port is handicapped by the bar which prevents the nearer approach of large vessels. In the backwaters there is, on the west, the existing commercial capital, Mattancheri, and on the east there is the State capital, Ernakulam, the terminus of a railway. The backwaters afford a natural harbour, with a large basin of deep water.

It is now desirable to state the facts and figures of the trade at the existing Port of British Cochin. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer*, the value of its imports in 1903-04 was 82 lakhs of rupees (about £550,000), and of its exports 208 lakhs (nearly £1,400,000). During the last twenty years the trade of the Port has trebled. The main exports are cocoanut oil and coir. Cochin monopolizes the trade of the Presidency in the former, and possesses three-quarters of the trade in the latter. There

is also an increasing export of tea from Travancore, its value in 1903-04 amounting to nearly 10 lakhs (£66,600). Of the import trade, more than half is in rice from Burma and Bengal. The other chief articles of trade are pepper, timber, cotton-twist, piece-goods, and kerosene oil.

Of the Cochin State as a whole, the chief exports are cocoanut oil, yarn, rope, fibre and matting made from coir, copra, areca-nut, ginger, pepper, fish, and prawns ; while the chief imports are those already stated for British Cochin, with the additions of metals, hardware, cutlery, and sugar. No detailed statistics of the trade of the State are available, but the figures for the value of the chief exports and imports through British Cochin, *which are mainly the exports and imports of the Cochin State*, show that the annual exports of cocoanut oil are worth 93 lakhs (£620,000), of yarn made of coir 50 lakhs (£333,000), and of pepper 9 lakhs (£60,000) ; while the imports include grain valued at 38 lakhs (£253,000), and raw and manufactured cotton valued at 11 lakhs (£73,000). The total value of the exports and imports of Cochin has risen from 93 to 212 lakhs under foreign trade, and from 234 to 390 lakhs (£2,600,000) under coasting trade during the past ten years—that is, a total trade of 601 lakhs (over £4,000,000). The Customs duties at the Port have risen during the same period from

under $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh (£3,300) to nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees (£16,600).

The growth of the State finance appears from the following figures: In 1880-81 the receipts amounted to 14·5 lakhs (£96,600), and the expenditure to 13·3 lakhs (£88,600). In 1903-04 the receipts were 29 lakhs (£193,300), and the expenditure 28·9 lakhs (£192,600).

An account of the trade of the Cochin State would not be complete without mention of what has been called the Interportal Convention of 1865, which has been otherwise described as "arrangements made between the British Government and the States of Travancore and Cochin for the removal of fiscal restrictions on trade between British India and those States." By this Convention Cochin agreed to abolish the tobacco monopoly and the system of inland transit duties, to equalize the rates of Customs duties at its seaports with those obtaining at the Ports of British India, and to sell salt within its limits at the price ruling in the District of Malabar. In return for these concessions the British Government guaranteed to the State a minimum Customs and tobacco revenue of Rs. 1,10,500 (£7,300).

It is not worth while, so long after 1865, to inquire into the circumstances under which this Convention was made, or whether pressure was, or was not, brought to bear on the Cochin State to accept the abolition of its transit and frontier

dues. The main facts that appear to emerge are that at present it is open to the State to establish Ports and levy Customs duties equal to those in force at the Ports of British India.

There is another matter which affects the question of a new Port for the Cochin State, and it may be mentioned here. For some years erosion of the shore has been taking place on the sea-coast, both on the Vypeen foreshore north of the British Cochin Port entrance and south of it. The erosion has cut away lands of the Cochin State on which cocoanuts were planted. Certain groins and protective works have been undertaken, and there has been, it is believed, discussion as to the proportion of the expenditure which should be borne by the Madras Government and the Cochin State respectively. The general outcome appears to be that protective works are required on the Vypeen foreshore and possibly elsewhere, and that such works must affect the question of the improvement of the Cochin Harbour. It is not quite clear whether the harbour thus referred to is the existing Port of British Cochin, or the possible new Port as it may be created from the available facilities afforded by the possessions of the Cochin State. Meanwhile the erosion goes on, and the eroded material adds to the amount to be hereafter removed when improvements come to be effected.

The Cochin State is understood to be desirous

of embarking upon a large scheme for the development of the natural harbour which it possesses in the backwaters already described. Minor schemes have been considered in the past by the British Government, such as dredging operations at the entrance and on the sea-shore, and thirty years ago an estimate was framed for the conversion of Cochin into a first-class Port, at a cost of 81 lakhs of rupees (£540,000). This estimate has been locally regarded as excessive. When the Cochin State Railway was under construction, it was suggested that the Cochin State should contribute towards the revenue of the harbour (which it was desired to improve) as the improvement of the harbour—apparently the British Cochin harbour was then meant—would materially increase the earnings of the State Railway.

When Lord Curzon paid Cochin a visit in 1900, he gave a very sympathetic and favourable reply to an address presented to him. He regarded the approaching connection of Ernakulam by railway with Shoranur on the Madras line as throwing a new light on the entire question of harbour improvement for Cochin. He could see at a glance that, when the line was completed, Cochin would become a more important place, and the demand for harbour improvement might appear in a different aspect.

Hitherto all schemes for the improvement of Cochin harbour have been based upon the

supposition that the measures were to be carried out by the British Government. It may be supposed that any scheme which the British Government carried out would be one that would somehow conduce to the welfare of the Port of British Cochin, and not one that would in any way conflict or compete therewith.

The Cochin State now desires to take up and consider and carry out a scheme which will make Cochin, that is presumably some Port in the Cochin State, an important commercial centre for the whole of Southern India. Its geographical position with regard to the Suez Canal ; the position of the Cochin inland backwaters affording the only site available for a large land-locked Port between Bombay and Ceylon ; the fact that Cochin (the State and the British town taken together) is already a centre of large trade—all these considerations point out this locality as the natural western Port for the Madras Presidency for trade with Europe through the Suez Canal. It has been urged that steamers from London passing through the Canal can make the voyage to Cochin and back again within ten to twelve days less time than they can go to Madras and return, and therefore, with a regular service of steamers established, freight to and from Cochin would be naturally lower than to and from Madras.

It may also be expected that steamers passing from the Suez Canal to Australia, the Straits,

and the Far East as far as the Pacific coast, would enter an improved Cochin State harbour rather than Colombo for the interchange of trade with South India. It has also to be borne in mind that, whereas there is now only one railway terminating at Ernakulam, others may in the future be constructed leading thither. There is an enormous area, between an imaginary polygonal circumference drawn through Shoranur, Coimbatore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevelly, Quilon, and Ernakulam, which is not at present adequately served by railways, though there must be, as elsewhere, any amount of the raw products of this country seeking outlet, to be paid for by increased imports.

The Cochin State possesses, in the backwaters between Ernakulam and Mattancheri, said to be two and a half miles broad and in some places very deep, space and opportunity for the establishment of a magnificent Port, in which battleships and other war-vessels could find anchorage, and a large commercial fleet could be moored. To make this available an entrance channel from the Arabian Sea, of sufficient depth to admit the largest ships, would be required, and it is understood that there would be no difficulty in dredging a channel of suitable depth, say 5 fathoms, between Ernakulam and the Arabian Sea, so as to have 35 feet of water on the Cochin bar. If wharves, quays, and the proper appliances, machinery, etc., were provided

at Ernakulam, ships would then be taken alongside the wharves and jetties, and loaded or unloaded, so that the only handling of sea-borne goods would be at Ernakulam for transfer to and from railway waggons. So long as the steamers can go no farther than the British Cochin Port (either for want of dredging of the entrance waterway or bar, or for want of appliances at Ernakulam), all goods passing to and from British Cochin and Ernakulam will have to be taken by boat across the backwaters, an operation entailing much handling and consequent expense, the certainty of delay, and the possibility of risk. The evident object of the Cochin State is that having (1) the State Railway with its terminus on the backwater, and (2) the magnificent natural harbour, the two may be utilized in conjunction for the advantage of the State.

The existence of the British Cochin Port and its bearing on the desired scheme of the Cochin State have to be considered. This British Cochin Port is an isolated portion of British territory (with the history attaching to it as briefly summarized above), twenty miles away from any other British territory, and surrounded on the land side by Cochin territory. Although it thus lies territorially within the British District of Malabar, it is by its geographical situation a seaport (one of four) for the produce of the Cochin State. As so much of the sea-borne trade

of that State passes through this Port, its improvement and development are of more importance to the Cochin State than to the Malabar District. Previous to the Convention (above mentioned) of 1865, the Cochin State, by the levy of frontier dues on the State frontiers, exercised control over the trade of the British Cochin Port and thereby considerably hampered that trade. The State Customs revenue, exclusive of certain duties, exceeded a lakh of rupees (£6,666). When the Convention of 1865 was made, the British Cochin trade amounted to 125 lakhs, (£833,300); it now, as already stated, exceeds 600 lakhs (four millions sterling). To compensate the Cochin State for the loss of revenues by the abolition (under the Convention of 1865) of the frontier dues, it was decided to share the British Cochin Customs revenue with the Cochin State, but not to give the State more than a definite limited share in the British Cochin Customs revenue. The Cochin State, at the time of the Convention, claimed one half of the Customs receipts of British Cochin with certain exceptions, and this was included in the agreement drawn up. The minimum guaranteed compensation to be paid to the Cochin State was fixed first at about 90,000 rupees (£6,000) a year, and subsequently at Rs. 1,10,500 (£7,300) at which sum it has remained.

Apparently, although the improvement in the trade of British Cochin is attributable to the

abolition (under the Convention) of the fiscal restrictions formerly imposed by the Cochin State, the State revenue from trade has remained stationary. It is alleged that the Cochin State has not benefited by the improvement of trade through British Cochin, but has, on the contrary, suffered by the reduction of the duty on salt in British India. It appears that for recent years the Cochin State has received a moiety of the Customs collections in British Cochin. But the State claim is that, in spite of the enormous expansion of trade at British Cochin, it has derived no pecuniary advantage; there is clearly a case for investigation as to the correctness of this allegation. *Prima facie*, it looks as if undue pressure was put upon the Cochin State in 1865, and that the State has now awakened to a sense of its losses and to a desire for developing its advantages for trade through the possession of the railway terminus and the magnificent back-waters fit for an inland harbour and Port.

The position of the Cochin State is that it can declare new Ports in the State and insist on its trade passing through them; in other words, derive the profit due to the State from the trade passing through its Ports, and not allow it all to accrue to the British Government by its passing through the British Cochin Port. The State desires that the questions of (1) erosion of the seashore, (2) of harbour improvement, and (3) of the necessary revision of the arrangements under

the Interportal Convention as to trade, may be considered together. The State desires to take the lead, and carry out, as one whole, the scheme that may be determined upon after a thorough investigation.

There is ample space at Ernakulam, on the eastern side of the backwaters, for the wharves and landing and shipping arrangements, and for sidings from a railway, so that railway-trucks could be loaded direct from the largest vessels, and *vice versa*. Apart from the geographical, administrative, and political questions connected with the desire of the Cochin State for a new Port to be established by itself, there are the financial arrangements of whatever scheme may be decided upon to be considered.

Assuming that, to make the scheme a success, it has first to be decided where the site of the new Port is to be fixed, what kinds of Port appliances are to be provided, what amount of dredging of the bar and clearance of an entrance to the backwaters have to be effected, there remains the important question of the financial measures required for meeting the total cost thereof. Though the trade of the British Cochin Port shows a total of over 600 lakhs (£4,000,000) in value on the last year's figures available, apparently the average for the last three years is something below 500 lakhs (£3,333,300) in value, with an average amount of nearly 300,000 tons. Landing and shipping dues levied at 1 anna per

ton on this trade would produce at least 3 lakhs (£20,000) a year, probably more. *Increased* Port dues at the rate of 1 anna (1d.) per ton on the average tonnage of vessels using the Port have been estimated to produce Rs. 50,000 (£3,300); and a share of the surplus Port dues collected at British Cochin has been taken to be good for Rs. 75,000 (£5,000). The total of these three heads would be $4\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of rupees (£28,300) a year; an income which at 4 per cent. interest would provide for a capital expenditure of 106 lakhs (£706,600) and at 5 per cent. for a capital of 85 lakhs (£566,600). The cost of the scheme would have to be kept within such total as may be decided upon, according to the interest to be guaranteed by the State.

These financial estimates will require careful examination. It is, for instance, not clear what use can be made of the sum of Rs. 1,10,500 (£7,300) now guaranteed to the Cochin State from the Customs revenue at British Cochin and earmarked by the State for repayment, in fifteen years, of the railway construction loan raised by the State in 1903. *Prima facie*, the sum in question should in a few years be available as a guarantee for the interest on a new loan for harbour and Port works.

It is believed that the revenues of the Cochin State have, since the question of a new Port for the State was last considered, increased from under 10 lakhs (£66,600) to over 45 lakhs (£299,900) a year, so that there should be no diffi-

culty in giving a State guarantee for a reasonable rate of interest on the capital required for the various operations (as above indicated) necessary for the establishment of a new State Port.

If the Cochin State opens, at its own cost, a new Port in its territories, there would be questions relating to the levy of Port dues, etc., at the British Cochin Port, and the apportionment of income and expenditure at both the existing British Cochin Port and a new Cochin State Port. In fact, the equity of the case would point to the necessity for a reconsideration of the Convention of 1865, and a fair distribution of the Customs and Port revenues between the British Government and the Cochin State. It looks rather as if a minimum Customs revenue should be fixed and guaranteed to the British Government, and any increase beyond that minimum credited to the Cochin State to pay for the new harbour and Port to be opened by the State. Such matters can best be dealt with, in the first instance, by those best acquainted locally with the facts.

The whole proposal for a new Port for the Cochin State is one which, *prima facie*, deserves to be carried out, on the grounds (1) that there are natural geographical facilities of which advantage can be taken ; (2) that the Cochin State new railway is bringing and will bring more and more raw produce to the coast for export ; (3) that there is an area over which more railways

may be constructed, to afford outlet routes for local produce to the same railway terminus ; (4) that such a new Port will afford the natural means of communication between much of the southern portion of the Peninsula with European and Eastern trade ; (5) that in case of a dock labour strike on a large scale at Colombo, the proposed Cochin Port may facilitate the passage of ships from Suez to the Far East. It is evident that the Cochin State is even more directly interested in the proposal than the British Government. To the former it may be of the utmost importance to the finances of the State and its future development. Much has been said and written about the duties of the Native Princes in respect of the proper administration of their territories ; many lectures have been addressed to them about the development of their resources. When, as is understood to be the case, a Native State of the rank of the Cochin State—Sir Rama Varma, the present Raja, succeeded in 1895, was made a G.C.S.I. by Lord Curzon, and is entitled to a salute of nineteen guns—is desirous of undertaking a public-spirited proposal, such as no other Indian Prince has undertaken, for the benefit of the State, the Government should surely not offer any obstacle to its realization. The Government might indeed (it may be respectfully suggested) do all they can to allow the proposal to be carried through without unnecessary delay.

Great credit is due to the Raja's Minister,

Mr. A. R. Banerji, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, for his labours in connection with the proposed Cochin Port, but if the usual roundabout course of official correspondence is insisted upon between the Cochin State and the Resident in Travancore and Cochin, and the Madras Government, and the Government of India, and the Secretary of State for India, years may elapse before any scheme arrives at maturity, and it would be contrary to all experience of official routine if the proposal were not blocked somehow, or stranded, or shunted into a siding, at one of the stages above indicated.

There is not much good in talking of sympathy with India and the Indians if, when a beneficial scheme is available, no sympathy whatever is to be shown in action, and such a proposal is allowed to perish in the coils of official routine. I am anxious—for the good of Indian trade, and therefore for the good of India—to see such a proposal thoroughly examined *de novo* from every point of view, including the financing thereof, to see it adopted if found feasible in every way, or abandoned if the obstacles are insuperable. The Cochin State should be authorized (it may be held by the British Government that such authorization would be necessary) to invite a Capitalist to depute a representative or representatives to consider the whole proposal on the spot, in conjunction with

the British Resident and the Minister of the Cochin State, and any engineering officer the Madras Government might direct to join their investigation. A full report on the facts and prospects of the proposal submitted by such a body of gentlemen would command the respect and attention of financial and engineering experts, without whom nothing can be done. It is to be hoped that the Cochin State will see its way to move in the direction suggested, and may be permitted to do so.

It would be a gracious and loyal act on the part of the Cochin State to invite His Majesty the King-Emperor to allow his name to be given to the new Port for Cochin herein proposed, and it would afford further testimony of His Majesty's sympathy with the Princes and peoples of India if the King-Emperor should be pleased to allow the new Port to be called "Port George," in commemoration of the first visit of a British Sovereign to his Oriental Empire. Bombay and other Indian cities have arranged some permanent memorial of the King-Emperor's visit to India, but none of these could be compared either in utility, permanency, or power to stir the imagination with "Port George," a great naval entrepôt between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

CHAPTER VII

THE INDIAN PRESS

THE English Press did not appear suddenly in India fully developed from Jupiter's head. Before the English appeared on the scene civilization had long existed, and the necessities of the native Government had evolved a system of obtaining and publishing information. In Hindu times the rulers of the country relied upon the reports regularly transmitted to them by their agents at home and abroad. During the rule of the Moghuls there was an organized department under State regulations (as set forth in the *Ain-i-Akbari*), both for the recording in writing of events at headquarters and for the collection of reports from newswriters at different stations. There was a *waqianavis*, or "recorder," in each *Subah*, or Province. In their early days in Bengal the English utilized these newsagents to act as their intermediaries with the Moghul Emperor. The Portuguese printed books at Goa in the sixteenth century. There was a printing-press at Bombay in 1674. There was printing at Madras in 1772, and an official printing-press was

established at Calcutta in 1779 (while Warren Hastings was Governor-General). Mr. Bolts, an ex-servant of the Company, had proposed a printing-press in 1768, but he had been, as an interloper, deported. "The Life and Death of the First Indian Newspaper," 1780-1782, are described at full length by Colonel Busteed, C.I.E., in his well-known and fascinating book, "Echoes from Old Calcutta." The proprietor, editor, and printer was Mr. James Augustus Hicky, an illiterate man, probably a printer by trade, who had suffered losses at sea and been in gaol. On January 29, 1780, he brought out *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser* as "a weekly political and commercial paper, open to all parties, but influenced by none," the first newspaper printed or published in India. At first dull and vulgar, and on the whole harmless, it descended to indecency, personalities, and scurrilous attacks, often directed at Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey, but it avoided attacking Sir Philip Francis. On November 14, 1780, its circulation through the channel of the General Post Office was stopped because it contained "several improper paragraphs, tending to vilify private characters and to disturb the peace of the Settlement." But its circulation in Calcutta and the neighbourhood continued. The worst features of the paper became exaggerated: personality assumed intolerable licence, private individuals were held up to derision. Hicky

slandered everyone and anyone alike ; even young ladies were most offensively indicated under different sobriquets, which could not be mistaken. In June, 1781, Hicky was arrested under Impey's order at the suit of Hastings, imprisoned, and fined, but he continued the paper without any change in its style. In January, 1782, he was again tried by Impey on the same indictment as that on which Hastings had previously had him tried ; he was fined, and sentenced to one year in gaol. In March, 1782, his types were seized, so that his paper was closed. He is described as a worthless man, but as the pioneer of the Indian Press. Of this paper, Kaye remarks in his "Christianity in India" : " Society must have been very bad to have tolerated such a paper. . . . It is difficult to bring forward illustrative extracts. The most significant passages are too coarse for quotation." Other papers were established about this time ; the most important of them were the *India Gazette*, in November, 1780, and the *Calcutta Gazette* (a semi-official organ, under the avowed patronage of Government), edited by Mr. Francis Gladwin, in 1784. Kaye has stated in his "Life of Lord Metcalfe," that with the improved moral tone of society during the administration of Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793) and Sir John Shore (1793-1798), the respectability of the Indian Press necessarily made steady progress. The papers had little or nothing to say against Lord Cornwallis

and his Government. It would appear that, therefore, they were left very much to themselves. There is other testimony to the general improvement in journalism between 1788 and 1798.

In 1791 William Duane, an Irish-American, was arrested by the Bengal Government, and ordered to be sent to Europe in consequence of an offensive paragraph in the *Bengal Journal*, reflecting upon Colonel de Canaple, Commandant of the affairs of the French nation and his countrymen in Calcutta. Mr. Duane applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, which was granted. On the trial of the case the Court unanimously decided that the Governor-General in Council possessed the legal right to order Mr. Duane's arrest and have him sent to Europe. On the intercession of M. Fumeron, the French Agent, the Government revoked their order for Mr. Duane's embarkation. But later, as editor of the *Indian World*, he published a number of improper and intemperate articles, and particularly an inflammatory address to the Army; he was therefore put under arrest (of which an amusing account is extant), and sent to Europe in 1794. The Court of Directors approved of these proceedings. The *Bengal Harkaru* came out as a weekly journal in 1795. In 1796 proceedings were taken against the editors of the *Telegraph* and the *Calcutta Gazette* respectively for articles considered objectionable

by the Government, but no resort to extreme measures was required.

In 1798 an officer was suspended and compulsorily retired for writing in the *Telegraph* a letter tending to excite discontent and disaffection in the Indian Army, and another person was deported for writing a letter to the same paper, animadverting on the official conduct of a magistrate, and for contumacy in declining to apologize. In 1799 the editor of that paper was required to apologize for a very improper reflection on an official. During these years the attitude of the Government of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies towards the editors of papers was the same as that of the Government of Bengal; several editors were warned, and the Press generally was officially supervised. Thus, previously to 1799 there were no uniform and consistent rules established at the three Presidencies to guide the editors of newspapers, or to restrain and punish their excesses. But the frequent abuses in the Calcutta and other Presses before 1799 seem to have satisfied the Government that checks were required.

When Lord Wellesley (then Lord Mornington) arrived in India as Governor-General on May 18, 1798, the Government were engaged in a great contest with the French, who were still endeavouring to establish a dominant influence in India and intriguing with the principal native dynasties for the destruction of the British power

in the East. It was a great crisis. The unwary publication of items of intelligence might have been fraught with pernicious results. Lord Wellesley believed that it was necessary to subject the Press to a rigorous supervision. A censorship was established. In 1799 Lord Wellesley was in Madras, to supervise the fourth Mysore War against Tipu. The Bengal Government, under his instructions, issued the following regulations for the public Press—they bore date May 13, 1799 (Seringapatam was stormed and Tipu killed on the 4th of that month): First, Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper. Second, Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Government. Third, No paper to be published on Sunday. Fourth, No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government, or by a person authorized by him for that purpose. Fifth, The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation to Europe. These regulations were communicated to seven English papers then published, and were extended to others as they started. This system obtained, with some additions to the rules, until the censorship was abolished in 1818.

Lord Wellesley is said to have been at this time exasperated beyond measure against the Press of Calcutta. He regarded with extreme

sensitiveness any remarks in the public journals which appeared in any degree likely to compromise the stability of British rule in the East. In his “Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward,” Mr. J. C. Marshman has written how Mr. Bruce, the editor of the *Asiatic Mirror*, a Calcutta newspaper, and one of the ablest public writers who have ever appeared in India, had indulged in some speculative opinions on the comparative strength of the European and native population, written in all simplicity and good faith, and without any factious design. But Lord Wellesley considered the article mischievous, and in his anxiety that the public security, as he said, might not be exposed to constant hazard, he directed Sir Alured Clarke, whom he had left in charge of the Government of Calcutta during his absence at Madras, to embark the editor of that paper for Europe in the first ship which might sail from Calcutta, adding: “If you cannot tranquillize the editors of this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force and send their persons to Europe.” At the same time he established a very rigid censorship of the Press, and authorized the Secretary to Government, who was appointed censor, to expunge whatever appeared to him likely to endanger the public tranquillity. Immediate deportation to England was the penalty for breach of any of the regulations. These rules, on reaching Leadenhall Street, received the

cordial approbation of the Court of Directors, and a despatch was promptly prepared for transmission to India. But the President of the Board of Control, before whom the despatch had to be placed, declined to concur with the sentences which expressed approval of Lord Wellesley's rules, and reserved the question for further consideration. At a subsequent period, after his return to England, Lord Wellesley directed the regulations to be excluded from the collection of his official despatches, published under his own superintendence. But in November, 1799, his feelings of animosity and alarm regarding the Press were in full force, and it was at that inauspicious juncture that the missionaries in Bengal sought to establish a press in the interior of the country, 200 miles from Calcutta. To this proposal the Governor-General gave the most decided and peremptory refusal.

When Lord Wellesley's Government in 1801 prepared a plan for the establishment of a Government printing press, it was proposed to print an official Gazette, accompanied with a newspaper, the latter to be published under Government inspection, but not to be considered as an official communication. The proposition was based on the following grounds :

In a political view, a powerful motive arises in favour of the proposed establishment. The increase of private printing-presses in India, unlicensed, however controlled, is an evil of the

first magnitude in its consequences ; of this sufficient proof is to be found in their scandalous outrages from the year 1793 to 1798. Useless to literature and to the public, and dubiously profitable to the speculators, they serve only to maintain in needy indolence a few European adventurers, who are found unfit to engage in any creditable method of subsistence. The establishment of a press by the Supreme Government would effectually silence those which now exist, and would as certainly prevent the establishment of such in future.*

On the ground of expenses the plan was not carried into execution. During the years 1801-1804, when the Maratha Wars were in progress, the Government prohibited the publication, in the *Calcutta Gazette* and *India Gazette*, without their express sanction, of military and naval information, unless it had previously appeared in the official Gazette—a proper precaution under the circumstances—and in 1807 the prohibition was repeated, and editors were censured for infringing it.

Lord Minto (Governor-General 1807-1813) had only been two months in Calcutta when the Secretary to Government was instructed to address (September 8, 1807) the English missionaries residing at the Danish settlement of Serampore and desire them to remove their press to Calcutta, so that its productions should be

* Vol. lxiv., No. 378.

subject to the immediate control of the officers of Government. Some of the religious pamphlets and treatises, issued by the missionaries from that press, and directed against the Hindu and Mahomedan religions, had (as they were circulated in the Company's dominions) appeared to Government to be calculated to produce irritation, alarm, and dangerous effects, and to be contrary to the system of protection which the Government were pledged to afford to the undisturbed exercise of the religions of the country. The leading missionaries waited on Lord Minto and submitted an explanation, whereupon the Government revoked the order for the removal of the press from Serampore, and simply required the missionaries to submit works intended for circulation in the British dominions to the inspection of Government officers. The Court of Directors approved of the measures taken to prevent the circulation of the obnoxious publications and of the permission granted to the missionaries to remain at Serampore.

During Lord Minto's administration the editors of Calcutta newspapers were constantly warned. In 1808 the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette*, who had failed to have his proof-sheets inspected before publication, was censured and directed to send everything for previous revision. In 1811 the proprietors of all presses in Calcutta and its dependencies were required to have the names of the printers affixed to everything printed and

issued by them, on pain of incurring the displeasure of Government. In 1812 the editor of the *Calcutta Daily Advertiser* was censured for inserting an advertisement intended to expose a respectable military officer to public ridicule. Orders were issued requiring the previous submission to Government for inspection of all advertisements save those of special kinds, which were exempted. In another case, in 1813 the proprietors of the *Bengal Harkaru* were called on to explain their disregard of the rule requiring previous inspection.

About this time there was an animated debate in the House of Commons on the subject of the restriction on the English Press in India. On March 21, 1811, a motion was made for copies of all regulations, etc., promulgated since 1797 regarding it. The motion was opposed by Mr. Dundas, then President of the Board of Control, who said that the noble Lord seemed to infer that no restraint should be placed upon the Press in India. If such was his meaning, he must say that a wilder scheme never entered into the imagination of man than that of regulating the Indian Press similarly to the English. There could be no doubt that the very Government would be shaken to its foundations if unlicensed publications were allowed to circulate over the continent of Hindustan. There could be but two descriptions of persons in India—those who went to that country with the licence of

the Company, and those who lived in its actual service ; and there could be no doubt whatever that the Company had a right to lay any regulation it pleased on those who chose to live under its power, and who, when they went into its territories, knew the conditions of submission to its authority on which their stay depended.

The Marquis of Hastings, who (as Lord Moira) succeeded to the Governor-Generalship on October 4, 1813, soon added some rules, dated the sixteenth of the same month, to those already in force for the control of printing-offices in Calcutta, as follows : (1) That the proof-sheets of all newspapers, including supplements and all extra publications, be previously sent to the Chief Secretary for revision ; (2) that all notices, handbills, and other ephemeral publications, be in like manner previously transmitted for the Chief Secretary's revision ; (3) that the titles of all original works proposed to be published be also sent to the Chief Secretary for his information, who will thereupon either sanction the publication of them, or require the work itself for inspection, as may appear proper ; (4) the rules established on May 13, 1799, and August 6, 1801, to be in full force and effect except in so far as the same may be modified by the preceding instructions.

In November, 1814, Dr. James Bryce arrived in Calcutta as the Senior Scotch Chaplain, and was allowed (a curious combination of employ-

ments, the incompatibility of which was noticed by the Government) to become also the editor and managing proprietor of the *Asiatic Mirror* in 1815. Assuming an independent attitude, he soon attacked the policy of the Press Censor, was censured for constant disregard of rules, and in 1817 carried the war into the enemy's camp by complaining to Government of the Chief Secretary, Mr. John Adam, for “having overstepped the powers of his office and reprimanded Dr. Bryce in his editorial capacity, declining to withdraw their censure when he appealed against it.” His quarrels with Mr. Adam continued. Meanwhile the Government had, on May 2, 1815, established the *Government Gazette* for the public service, withdrawing official authority from the *Calcutta Gazette*. Their object was, it is said, to insure greater control over official secrets.

It is understood that about the year 1816 the propriety of making the Press free was constantly debated by the Members of the Supreme Council in India. The authority for this statement is obscure. Lord Hastings had brought with him, it is said, very enlightened views on the subject of the Press. When he had broken up the Maratha power and Confederacy, he resolved to break the fetters of the Press. So he abolished the censorship, without recording any reasons, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his Cabinet. At the same time he passed certain

regulations, dated August 19, 1818, for the conduct of the editors of newspapers, superseding the censorship, as follows :

“The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads—viz : (1) Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of the Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta ; (2) discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances ; (3) the republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India ; (4) private scandal and personal remarks on individuals tending to excite dissension in society.”

The Government were empowered to visit any infraction of these rules by a prosecution in the Supreme Court, or by expelling the offender. The Judges of the Supreme Court on one occasion refused to grant a criminal information. Hastings was extremely averse to banishing an editor. Deportation, after cancellation of the

licence to remain in India, continued to be nominally the effective method of enforcing the censorship against English editors. But when an editor born in India, who could not be embarked to Europe, rebelled against the censorship, he could not be touched, and the situation became anomalous and impracticable. The rules, therefore, soon became a dead letter and the Press practically free.

Hastings subsequently, when answering an address from Madras, claimed to have removed the restrictions on the Press, in pursuance of the policy that supreme authority should look to the control of public scrutiny, as it gains force thereby. The rules of 1818, when reported on October 1 of that year, without any reasons assigned for the change of system, to the Court of Directors in England, met with their disapproval; the promulgation of the Governor-General's doctrines excited their disgust and alarm. The Court prepared a despatch to the Government of India, (1) expressing their annoyance at not having been consulted before the changes in the Press rules, and (2) denying the efficacy of the proposed change. They proposed to write to India as follows:

“ With this conviction we positively direct that on the receipt of this despatch you do revert to the practice which had prevailed for nearly twenty years previous to 1818, and continue the same in force until you shall have submitted to us,

and we shall have approved and sanctioned, some other system of responsibility or control, adapted alike to all our Presidencies in India. The inconvenience and public scandal which have resulted from the sudden liberation of the Press in Calcutta, while that at Madras remained under control, are too notorious to require particularizing here, and could not but be the consequence of so hasty and partial a measure."

But when the draft despatch was sent on April 7, 1820, to the Board of Control for approval, Mr. George Canning, who presided there, did not return it. It was simply shelved and never issued. So Lord Hastings' rules of 1818 remained in force until 1823. The *Bengal Harkaru* became, on April 27, 1818, the first daily paper in India. For the next four years the Court of Directors deplored the licentiousness of the Indian Press, after the abolition of the censorship, and were anxious to reimpose it.

Mr. James Silk Buckingham arrived in Calcutta with a licence in 1815. As editor of the *Calcutta Journal* he attacked the Government and the officials unsparingly. He was reproved and warned for aspersing the character of the Governor of Madras. He defied all rules, and harassed the Government and individuals by his objectionable conduct of his paper, being repeatedly warned for inserting articles injurious

to the interests of the Company. Lord Hastings disapproved of his violence, and personally remonstrated with him, but in July, 1822, overruled the votes of his Council for deportation. When a change was about to take place by the appointment of a new Governor-General (Lord Amherst), the Court of Directors thought it a fit opportunity to address the Board of Control on the licentious state of the public Press in India.

“ It appears ” (they wrote) “ that from 1791 to 1799 the Bengal Government limited its interference with the Press in India, in cases of venial offences, to expressions of its disapprobation, and to requisitions of apologies from offending editors ; that in two cases of aggravation it exercised its legal power of sending the offenders to England ; in one instance it suspended the offender from the Company’s service. The Calcutta Press was subjected to a censorship from 1779 to 1818, and during that period no case occurred which it was found necessary to visit with the severe displeasure of the Government. The censorship was removed in 1818, rules being laid down instead for the conduct of editors ; and ever since the restrictions then imposed have been set at naught, and the Government has been involved in an almost constant but unsuccessful conflict with an individual editor, it having failed in one prosecution, and declined exercising its power of sending him

home, because of other prosecutions which had been instituted against him in the Supreme Court. In one instance, previous to the introduction of the censorship at Madras, the Government had found it necessary to order an editor to Europe. The censorship has not yet been removed by the Madras Government, and at that Settlement, so far as is known, the Press causes neither uneasiness to Government nor disturbance to the community. The Madras Government, with reference to what has been done elsewhere, and to the general agitation of the question, have lately represented to the Court, in the strongest terms, the impolicy and danger of liberating the Press from the most absolute control. Lastly, at Bombay, where the censorship was imposed in 1791, no case had occurred under its operation, against which the Bombay Government thought itself called upon to proceed with severity; but in December, 1819, the censorship was removed, and the same regulations for the Press established at Bombay as in Bengal."

The Court's despatch--which was laid before Parliament with other papers in May, 1858--argued the case in the fullest detail, with all possible force against the freedom of the Press, and in favour of the censorship. Among other points, the Court observed that a free Press could not be confined to Europeans, that four native newspapers were started on the with-

drawal of the censorship, and that such a Press must be injurious.

“The half-castes may be made, as they must at no period become, a source of great anxiety to Government. . . . Moreover, any diminution of the native respect for Government would endanger its safety. . . . As to the diffusion of intelligence among the natives, that is a high object; but it is not to be attained through newspapers, whose aim is to gratify the curiosity rather than enlighten the understanding, to excite the passions rather than to exercise the reason of their readers;” and much stress was laid on the danger of the Native Army obtaining a perusal of the English newspapers, “containing a perhaps exaggerated representation of their grievances, or an inflammatory incentive to rebellion, which, from their assemblage in garrisons and cantonments, they have better means of concerting than any other portion of the population.” They expressed a preference for censorship over the extreme penalty of deportation, and suggested that, as the censorship could not be extended to journals edited by half-caste and native editors, Parliament should be asked to enlarge the powers of Government. They suggested that the necessity of the censorship should be superseded were the Local Governments empowered to grant and withdraw licences to printing-presses, with the power of suppressing unlicensed printing, as such a check

would be universally applicable. Among the papers quoted by the Court was a Minute by Lord William Bentinck, then (1807) Governor of Madras : "It is necessary, in my opinion, for the public safety, that the Press in India should be kept under the most rigid control." He recommended that all proprietors of printing-presses should be forbidden, under pain of the utmost displeasure of the Governor, to print any paper whatever without the previous sanction of the Governor.

A Minute (1822) by Sir Thomas Munro (Governor of Madras, 1820-1827) was also quoted, containing his sentiments, unanimously shared by his Council, on the danger to be apprehended from a free Press in India. He observed that the grand object of improving the moral and intellectual character of the people of India was not to be attained by the circulation of newspapers and pamphlets among the natives immediately connected with Europeans, but by spreading education gradually among the people, diffusing moral and religious instruction through the community, giving the natives a greater share in the administration, and allowing them to fill places of rank and emolument.

In reply to the Court's despatch, the President of the Board of Control wrote that His Majesty's Ministers, though deeply sensible of the weight and importance of the considerations pressed on their attentions by the Court, did not think

that, under the circumstances, it would at present be advisable to submit to Parliament any measure for extending the authority of the Indian Government to check this abuse—the licentious state of the Press in India. In the interim, between Hastings' retirement and Amherst's arrival in India, Mr. John Adam, the Senior Member of Council, acted as Governor-General in 1823. He had previously been Chief Secretary and ex-officio Press Censor. He had uniformly opposed the liberal views of Hastings regarding the Press: he considered a free Press incompatible with the institutions of a despotic Government like that of India, and his objections to it were based, not on personal irritation, but on conscientious principle. The officials had started, in 1821, the *John Bull*, by way of retorting upon Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*. The Presidency was divided in opinion between the two newspapers. A prosecution instituted against Buckingham failed. After Hastings had left India, Buckingham in his paper ridiculed the appointment of the Presbyterian Chaplain to be Clerk to the Committee of Stationery; Buckingham's licence was promptly taken away, and he was deported. The *Calcutta Journal* was made over to an Indian-born gentleman as editor, who could not be deported.

Thereupon Regulation III. of 1823 was passed “for preventing the establishment of printing-presses without licence, and for restrain-

ing, under certain circumstances, the circulation of certain printed books and papers." It enacted that no person should print any newspaper or book containing public news, or information, or strictures on the proceedings of Government, without a licence, which was liable to be revoked ; and that, if any newspaper or work should be printed either without a licence or after its recall, any two Justices of the Peace might inflict a penalty of £40 for each offence. When the *Calcutta Journal* opposed the registration (required to make it law) of the regulation in the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice ordered its registration on the ground that the Government and a free Press were incompatible with each other and could not coexist. Simultaneously rules were published for the guidance of editors. It was notified that the publication of any observations on the measures or orders of the public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or on the measures and orders of the Indian Governments, impugning their motives or designs, or in any way intended to bring them into hatred and contempt, or to weaken their authority, would subject the editors to the loss of their licences. This measure has been called the tyranny of despotism. Lord Amherst (1823-1828) is said to have adopted the violent counsels of his advisers. A Mr. Arnott, of the *Calcutta Journal*, was banished for publishing some offensive remarks ; the

licence of the paper was soon after revoked. Mr. Arnott appealed to the Directors, and was awarded £1,500 as compensation for his banishment. Various orders were issued in 1822-1826 to prevent Government officers from having any connection with the Press on pain of dismissal.

In 1824 the Bombay Supreme Court complained of the *Bombay Gazette* for having misrepresented their proceedings. The Bombay Government deprived Mr. Fair, the nominal owner and editor, of his licence and deported him. But when the Bombay Court was moved by the Bombay Government in July, 1826, to register (to validate it locally) the Bengal Regulation, the Judges refused to do so, pronouncing it, with many panegyrics on the liberty of the Press, unlawful and inexpedient. Malcolm (Governor of Bombay 1827-1830) felt the want of power of controlling the Press, except by deportation, very embarrassing. In May, 1827, the Government suppressed the *Calcutta Chronicle* for great disrespect to the Government and the Directors, and for violating the Press Regulation. Lord Amherst is said to have relaxed his views on restriction during his last two years of office. Lord William Bentinck (Governor-General 1828-1835) hesitated to establish the liberty of the Press by a legislative enactment, but he paved the way for it by giving the Press seven years of actual freedom, and by constantly encouraging

its discussion of public questions. He thought some power should be reserved to the authorities, responsible as they were for the peace and integrity of the Empire, to enable them effectively to secure the Government against sedition. Though he never interfered with the freedom of public discussion, except in the solitary case of the half-batta order (which came from England), he thought the Government should have some authority to restrain the Press summarily in a clear case of political necessity. When publishing the half-batta despatch, he appears to have contemplated some restrictions on the Press, but was apparently deterred by Sir Charles Metcalfe's Minute of September 6, 1830, which argued against any interference with the liberty of the Press. Bentinck was wont to say, snapping his fingers, that he did not care a straw for the vituperations of the Press. He esteemed it, he said, as a friend, and appreciated it as an auxiliary to good government.

Upon Lord William Bentinck's retirement, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Senior Member of the Supreme Council, acted as Governor-General for nearly a year, until Lord Auckland arrived in March, 1836. There were then a number of journals in existence in Bengal. On August 3, 1835, the Government of India, under Sir Charles Metcalfe, passed Act XI. of that year, which took effect from September 15, removing all restrictions on the Press. In 1825 Metcalfe

had, as he wrote to a friend, no decided opinions on the subject of the Press.

“ I cannot go along with one party as to the blessings of a free Press, nor with another as to its dangers ; but I rather think that the inconveniences would predominate at present and the advantages hereafter ; and that it would be hostile to the permanency of our rule, but ultimately beneficial to India.

“ The real dangers of a free Press in India are, I think, in its enabling the natives to throw off our yoke. The petty annoyances which our Government would suffer I call rather inconveniences. The advantages are in the spread of knowledge, which it seems wrong to obstruct for any temporary or selfish purpose. I am inclined to think that I would let it have its swing, if I were sovereign lord and master.”

In 1832, as Vice-President in Council, Metcalfe expressed his opposition to any control of the Press. His opportunity came while he was acting as Governor-General, with Macaulay as his Legal Member of Council. The Act of 1835, which they passed, repealed the Press Regulations of 1823 in Bengal, and those of 1825 and 1827 in Bombay. It enacted that the printer and the publisher of every periodical work within the Company’s territories, containing public news, or comments on public news, should appear before the magistrates of the jurisdiction in which it should be published, and declare where it was to

be printed and published. Every book or paper was thenceforth to bear the name of the printer and publisher. Every person having a printing-press on his premises was to make a declaration thereof, and for all violations of the provisions of the Act penalties of fine and imprisonment were decreed. But, beyond the necessity of making these declarations, there was no other restriction upon the liberty of the Press. Sir C. Metcalfe was belauded as the liberator of the Indian Press, and defended his measure as conducting to the promotion of knowledge and civilization, and thereby the improvement of the people. He admitted the liberty practically given to the Press by Lord W. Bentinck's forbearance, although the Press laws were nominally in existence. He was blamed for his change of opinion since 1825, and for having seized the opportunity of a brief occupancy of the chief seat of Government to secure for himself a little fleeting popularity. The use of a safety-valve, the publicity, the aid afforded to Government by a free Press, were the arguments relied upon by the supporters of liberation. At the same time the Government of India recognized, not only the right, but the bounden duty of the Government to suspend that liberty on the possible occurrence of certain emergencies when such a measure might become necessary for the safety of the State. The freedom of the Indian Press dates from September 15, 1835, and the Metcalfe

Hall was erected in Calcutta to commemorate the name of the liberator. The Free Press Dinner became an anniversary festival in Calcutta. The Court of Directors showed their dissatisfaction with Sir C. Metcalfe's Government, and made him personally feel the weight of their displeasure. In their despatch of February 1, 1836, the Court very severely blamed the Government of India for passing the Act, which they declared to be opposed to all previous orders, unjustifiable, unsupported by facts, redressing no real grievance, required by no emergency, an uncalled for substitution of legal responsibility for the previous licensing system. But the Court refrained from disallowing the new law, and awaited Lord Auckland's advice before finally deciding. The Act remained in force.

So far the main account of the Indian Press has been limited to English journalism, with the briefest allusions to vernacular papers. It is time to describe succinctly the rise and development of vernacular journalism, especially that of Bengal, which by the date of the Mutiny of 1857 had attained such a position as to require the serious attention of the Government. In 1798 the Court of Directors intimated their desire to encourage Indian literature. When the missionaries Marshman and Ward had established themselves at Serampore in October, 1799, they were soon joined in January, 1800, by William Carey,

who brought down his press from his factory in the Malda district. There is no need to dwell at length on the activity of the Serampore missionaries until the year 1818. Their relations with Lord Minto's Government have been mentioned. Marshman tells how the Serampore missionaries had for some time contemplated the publication of a newspaper in the Bengali language, to stimulate inquiry and diffuse information. The Government had always regarded the periodical Press with a spirit of jealousy; it was then under a rigid censorship. It did not appear likely that a native journal would be suffered to appear, when the English journals at the Presidency (where alone they were published) were fettered by the severest restrictions. On Marshman's proposal the Government, in February 1818, allowed the publication of a periodical in Bengali, provided all political intelligence, more especially regarding the East, was excluded, and it did not appear in a form likely to alarm Government. "It must therefore be confined to articles of general information and notices of new discoveries, but a small space may be allotted to local events with the view of rendering it attractive." This monthly magazine appeared in April, 1818, as the *Dig-Dursun*. As it was received with unexpected approbation, Dr. Marshman and Mr. Ward issued a prospectus for the publication of a weekly vernacular newspaper in Bengali. Dr. Carey regarded this publication with feelings of

great alarm, but was overruled by his colleagues. The first number was issued on May 23, 1818, as the *Samachar Durpan*. This was supposed to be the first Bengali newspaper. Until recently, it has been stated that the *Bengali Gazette*, published in 1816 in Bengali, which lived less than a year, was the first. However that may be, the issue of the *Samachar* was favoured by the authorities, and Lord Hastings, to encourage it, allowed its circulation at one-fourth the usual postage charge. The censorship of the Press was then in full vigour, but the “liberty of unlicensed printing,” which the missionaries enjoyed in the Danish Settlement of Serampore, was not interfered with. While the animosity against the periodical English Press was at its height, the Government manifested its confidence in the discretion of the Serampore missionaries by purchasing one hundred copies of their Bengali newspaper for the public offices in Bengal, and encouraged a Persian version of it by a liberal subscription. Persian was then the official language of the courts of Bengal. The first native newspaper in Bombay was the *Bombay Samachar*, published as a weekly on July 1, 1822. The Government subscribed for fifty copies; it became a weekly in 1833, and a daily in 1860. In 1875 there were 254 vernacular newspapers in India. In Bengal the *Hindoo Patriot* had been started (in English) in 1853. The *Indian Mirror* came out in 1861, the

Bengali in 1862, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in 1868.

Soon after the Mutiny broke out, in 1857, the Government of India recorded, on June 12, a Resolution announcing their intention to take prompt and decisive measures with the Press. Certain native newspapers (the *Doorbeen*, *Sultan-ul-Akhbar*, *Samachar Soodhaburshun*) in Calcutta had uttered falsehoods and facts grossly perverted for seditious purposes, misrepresented the objects and intentions of Government, vituperated Government itself, and endeavoured to excite discontent and hatred towards it in the minds of its native subjects. Two of the papers had published a traitorous proclamation inciting the Hindus and Mahomedans to murder all Europeans. The Government ordered their law officers to prosecute the printers and publishers of the two newspapers on charge of publishing seditious libels, and determined to take for a time control of the Press, and power to suppress summarily publications containing treasonable or seditious matter, or otherwise infringing the conditions imposed. Lord Canning himself took charge of the measure, which became, on June 13, XV. of 1857, an Act to regulate the establishment of printing-presses, and to restrain in certain cases the circulation of printed books and papers. It temporarily placed the whole Indian Press very much in the position in which it was permanently before Sir C. Metcalfe's legislation in 1835 gave

it complete liberty. It prohibited the keeping or using of printing-presses without licence from the Government. The Government took discretionary power to grant licences, subject to conditions ; also to revoke the licences ; also to prohibit the publication or circulation in India of newspapers, books, etc., of any particular description. The conditions upon which licences were ordinarily to be granted were, that nothing printed at such presses should contain matter impugning the motive or designs of the British Government in England or India, or tending to bring Government into hatred or contempt, to excite disaffection or unlawful resistance to its orders, or to weaken its lawful authority, or the lawful authority of its civil or military servants ; that nothing printed there should contain matter having a tendency—(1) to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference by Government with their religious opinions and observances, or (2) to weaken the friendship towards the British Government of Native Princes, Chiefs, or Dependent or Allied States. Soon the *Friend of India* (an Anglo-Indian newspaper), which had infringed every one of the conditions of its licence, was warned against repeating remarks of the dangerous nature contained in an article on the “Centenary of Plassey.” It however, repeated, in offensive and defiant terms, the substance of the original article. The licence was about to be withdrawn,

when an assurance was given that the prescribed conditions would be observed. The printers and publishers of two of the native papers pleaded guilty, and were discharged under recognizances. The third defendant was acquitted. The law was enforced against two other papers. The Act applied to all India ; its duration was limited to one year ; it made no distinction between the English and Vernacular Press. This aroused a storm of indignation in the European community on the ground that the European Press, although no fear was entertained that treasonable matter would be designedly published in any English newspaper, had been placed under the same restrictions as the native Press. This was the deliberate intention of Lord Canning himself, who said, when introducing the measure, that he saw no reason, and did not consider it possible in justice, to draw any line of demarcation between European and native publications. The "Gagging Act" has never been forgotten. The Government particularly pointed out to the Court of Directors the nature of the comments that might be made in a newspaper and circulated among natives in India with impunity when the Press is not under a temporary law of restriction. The *Jam-i-Jamshid* was suppressed by the Bombay Government, who, moved by the Commissioner in Sind (Sir Bartle Frere) to take some action, recorded strong opinions in favour of restrictions, and supported Act XV. of 1857. The Court of

Directors entertained no doubt of the necessity of some such measures, and, when the proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette* memorialized the Court, praying for the disallowance of the Act, and pleading for the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Press since 1835, they very briefly replied to him that they had approved of the Act. When the Act expired it was not renewed.

While Lord Lawrence was Viceroy of India (1864-1869), the idea of establishing a Government organ was considered, and negotiations were opened, it is said, with the editor of the *Englishman*; but nothing came of them, as no subsidy was to be granted. Sir Henry Maine, the Legal Member, wrote in a Minute, dated February 27, 1868 : “ We stand alone among the Governments of the civilized world in having no means, except the most indirect, of correcting the honest mistakes or exposing the wilful misrepresentations of a completely free Press.” He considered the subject of possible future relations between the Government and the *Friend of India*, but was strongly advised against the establishment of an official paper like the *Moniteur*, and apparently nothing came of the idea. On March 16, 1868, he wrote :

“ We are beginning more and more to be conscious of the reflex action of Indian opinion, which is mainly formed by the newspapers, which penetrates to England in a variety of ways, and thus leavens or creates English opinion about

India, and so becomes a real power with which we have to count. Even more serious is the direct influence of the European Press in India on the now enormous native Press. Where the native newspapers do not perceive that native interest points the other way (which they constantly fail to do), they merely echo European cries, which, in the vast majority of cases, are bitter calumnies on, or misrepresentations of, the policy of the Government."

Of the European Press in Bengal and Upper India he added : " We always knew that it was careless, shallow, and scandalous. We now know all but for certain that it is corrupt. It is not very uncharitable to speak of it as constantly subsidized by one or other of the numerous persons who are conspiring against the Indian Exchequer." There is evidence, in his " Life," by Sir W. Hunter, that Lord Mayo also considered the question of a Government organ, but saw the difficulty there would be in controlling an inspired one, and the risk to be incurred in raising hostile feelings among the papers. In 1867 Act XXV. (Printing-Presses and Books) was passed to deal with the preservation and registration of all books, repealing and re-enacting Metcalfe's Act of 1835, with only a slight alteration of a penalty section.

Several of the chief English newspapers now published in India were commenced during the twenty years, 1858-1878, such as the *Pioneer*, the

Civil and Military Gazette, the *Madras Mail*, and others. The Press has developed since that time, through greater enterprise and facilities. More especially have the vernacular papers increased in number and circulation. Between 1858 and 1878 the power and influence of the Presses, both English and Vernacular, whether for good or bad, was fully established. In 1875 there were 155 English, besides the 254 Vernacular, and 69 mixed English and Vernacular papers published in different parts of India. As there had been no stamp duty on the newspaper Press of India, this development of the Indian Press was not the result of a repeal of a duty in the same way as in England the repeal of the newspaper stamp duty in 1855, and of the advertisement tax in 1853 (both first imposed in 1712), and the abolition of the paper duty in 1861, had conducted there to the enormous expansion of journalism.

The Wahabi conspiracy had existed at least from 1863, and in 1868-69 inquiries were instituted which led to the trial and conviction of some of the conspirators. The investigations brought to light the fact that further measures were required to meet cases of seditious preaching, for which there seemed to be no satisfactory provision in the existing law. The Penal Code was accordingly amended by the introduction (by Act XXVII. of 1870) of a new section, 124A, by which Sir Fitz-James Stephen, then Legal

Member, intended to assimilate generally the Indian law regarding seditious language to the English law as it had settled down since Fox's Libel Act of 1792. The new section had, he stated, stood in Macaulay's draft code in 1837, and no one could account for its final omission. He disclaimed any wish of the Government to check in the least degree any criticism of their measures, however severe and hostile—nay, however disingenuous, unfair, and ill-formed it might be. The section would not apply to a writer or speaker who neither directly or indirectly suggested or intended to produce the use of force, but his intention would have to be inferred from the circumstances in each case. The section also would not be an interference with the liberty of the Press, a phrase which he described as mere rhetoric. "The question was not whether the Press ought or ought not to be free, but whether it ought to be free to excite rebellion," and he proceeded to describe what people might or might not say. The section (124A) was passed as follows: "124A. Whoever by words, either spoken, or intended to be read, or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise, excites or attempts to excite, feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or for any term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, to which

fine may be added, or with fine. *Explanation.*— Such a disapprobation of the measures of the Government as is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of the Government against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist that authority is not disaffection. Therefore, the making of comments on the measures of the Government, with the intention of exciting only this species of disapprobation, is not an offence within this clause."

Also, during this period (1858-1878) the Penal Code contained a section, 505 (which was altered in 1898), directed against the circulation or publication of any statement, rumour, or report, known to be false, with intent to cause any officer, soldier, or sailor, to mutiny, or with intent to cause fear or alarm to the public, and thereby to induce any person to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquillity.

In 1878 it appeared to the Government of India, when Lord Lytton was Viceroy and Governor-General, that a section of the Vernacular Press had of late years assumed an attitude of fixed hostility to the Government; that it did not confine itself to criticizing particular measures, or the acts of individual officers on their merits, but attacked the very existence of British rule in India, and that the evil had been steadily growing, and had attained a magnitude which called for the application of some strong measures of

repression. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir Ashley Eden) had brought to notice instances of the licentiousness and sedition of the Vernacular Press, and the necessity for immediate action was pressed on the Government of India from many quarters. The existing law was held by competent advisers not to furnish a sufficient remedy, so that fresh legislation was considered necessary. It was decided to devise a special procedure for the *prevention* of offences, rather than to amend the ordinary criminal law imposing *penalties* for offences already committed. The reasons for the measure stated in the preamble of the Bill, which became law on March 14, were that certain publications in Oriental languages, printed or circulated in British India, had of late contained matter likely to excite disaffection to the Government, or antipathy between persons of different races, castes, religions, or sects in British India, or had been used as means of intimidation or extortion, and that such publications were read by and disseminated among large numbers of ignorant and unintelligent persons, and were thus likely to have an influence which they otherwise would not possess, so that it was considered necessary for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and for the security of Her Majesty's subjects and others, that power should be conferred on the Executive Government to control the printing and circulation of such publications.

The measure passed by the Council established a system of control over vernacular papers, as follows : (1) The Magistrate might, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, require the printer or publisher of any such newspaper to enter into a bond binding himself not to print or publish in such newspaper anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government, or antipathy between different races, etc., or to commit extortion. (2) If any newspaper (whether a bond had been taken in respect of it or not) at any time contained any matter of the description just mentioned, or was used for purposes of extortion, the Local Government might warn such newspaper by a notification in the *Gazette*, and if, in spite of such warning, the offence was repeated, the Local Government might then issue its warrant to seize the plant, etc., of such newspaper, and when any deposit had been made, might declare such deposit forfeited. (3) As the deposit of security and the forfeiture of the deposit might perhaps press unduly on less wealthy proprietors, clauses were inserted enabling a publisher to take his paper out of the operation of this portion of the Act by undertaking to submit his proofs to a Government officer before publication, and to publish nothing objected to by such officer.

In the debate in the Legislative Council full explanation was given of the necessity for the measure (which included also provisions for the

seizure and prohibition of importation of books, newspapers, etc., of the kind aimed at), and for the summary procedure adopted, also of the limitation of the measure to the Vernacular Press. Much stress was laid upon the importance of avoiding public trials for sedition. It was mentioned that both Sir Charles Metcalfe and Macaulay, the one the originator, and the other the draughtsman and the eloquent defender of the Act of 1835, while arguing strongly in favour of a free Press, adverted to the possibility of circumstances arising which might compel the Government of the day to resort again to legislation of a restrictive character. Mr. Prinsep also, in 1835, thought the eye of the Government would require to be kept "continually upon the Press, and especially upon the native Press, for it was capable of being made an engine for destroying the respect in which the Government is held, and so undermining its power." The Secretary of State, Lord Cranbrook, sanctioned the Vernacular Press Act, but objected to the provisions under which a publisher might undertake to submit a proof of his newspaper to Government before publishing it, so a brief Act was passed repealing this portion of the previous measure. The Act was only once put in force. Under the orders of Government a bond was demanded from the printer of the *Som Prokash* for publishing seditious matters. The printer executed the bond, but subsequently stopped the

issue of that paper, and started the *Navabibhakar* in its place. The following year permission was sought to revive the *Som Prokash*, and such permission was accorded on the editor's giving a pledge for its future good conduct. Subsequently both the papers were separately published. No prosecution took place; no further publicity was given to the incriminated articles; a warning was given to the whole native Press, and its tone perceptibly improved without any diminution of fair criticism; the preaching of general sedition ceased. All that was required was effected by requiring the printer to execute the bond.

The two Acts were both repealed by Lord Ripon's Government in January, 1882, so that Section 124A of the Penal Code alone remained to the Government as a means of controlling seditious utterances in the Press generally; while under Customs and Post Office Acts foreign publications could be stopped from circulation in India.

Although some of the vernacular newspapers attacked the Government with virulence and boldness for the next nine years, no notice was taken until, in August, 1891, the proprietor, editor, manager, printer, and publisher of the *Bangobasi* (Calcutta newspaper) were prosecuted under Sections 124A and 500 of the Penal Code for sedition and defamation in certain articles, in which statements were made against the Govern-

ment, and attempts made to excite popular feeling and discontent and disaffection towards the Government among the people. The main object of the Government in instituting the prosecution was to ascertain and make known the exact state of the law. After a trial for several days before the Chief Justice, a majority of the jury, in the proportion of seven to two, were for conviction, but the Chief Justice declined to accept anything but a unanimous verdict ; the jury were therefore discharged. The accused then expressed their contrition for having allowed the articles in question to appear, and threw themselves unreservedly on the Lieutenant-Governor's mercy, promising never to repeat their offence. The Lieutenant-Governor, with the concurrence of the Government of India, stopped further proceedings. In this case the meanings of the words "disaffection" and "disapprobation" were much discussed, the Chief Justice laying it down that the meanings of the two portions of Section 124A were distinct, and that a man's "disaffection" was totally different from "disapprobation." When Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst were murdered at Poona, in June, 1897, the Government ascribed the murders to inflammatory articles in the Vernacular Press (in connection with anti-plague measures). In 1897, Mr. Tilak was tried under Section 124A for attempting to excite feelings of disaffection to the British Government in certain articles in the Marathi

paper, the *Kesari*, of which he was the editor and proprietor. The jury found him guilty by a majority of six to three. The Judge accepted this verdict, and sentenced the accused to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment. In 1898 Section 124A was amended and amplified.

The relations between Government and the Press have developed, as has been shown, since 1780 from a system of arbitrary, not to say despotic, treatment, through periods of Press censorship, restriction, liberty, temporary restraint, renewed freedom, a Vernacular Press Act for four years, legislation (twice) by amendments of the ordinary law against sedition, until in 1908, before Act VII. was enacted, the Press law was comprised, as will have appeared, in Act XXV. of 1867, in Sections 108A, 124A, 153A, and 505 of the Penal Code, and Sections 108 and 196 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, besides some provisions of the Customs and Post Office Acts. It has been officially explained that the Act VII. of 1908 (incitements to offences) is directed, not against the liberty of the Press, nor against sedition, with which the existing criminal law would deal, but against a Press which incited men to murder, to armed revolt, and to secret diabolical schemes. It gave power to District and Chief Presidency Magistrates in such cases to confiscate the printing-press used in the production of the newspaper, and to stop the lawful issue of the newspaper. The procedure

adopted in the Act followed the general lines of that provided in the Code of Criminal Procedure for dealing with public nuisances, with the important addition that the final order of the Magistrate directing the forfeiture of the press was appealable to the High Court within fifteen days. It was further provided that no action could be taken against a press save upon an application made on the authority of a Local Government. When an order of forfeiture had been made by the Magistrate, but only in that case, the Local Government was empowered to annul the declaration made by the printer and publisher of the newspaper under the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and thereafter neither that newspaper nor any other which was the same in substance could be published without a breach of the law.

The unrest in India was, it will be remembered, so serious in 1908 that a special law, designated the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, XIV. of 1908, was passed, intended to provide for the more speedy trial of anarchical offences, and for the suppression of associations dangerous to the public peace. This Act did not specially refer to the Press, but allusion to it is relevant, as the offences indicated were admittedly the consequences of seditious and suggestive articles in the Vernacular Press.

It was soon realized that Act VII. of 1908 was ineffective : the political nuisance continued

unabated. The newspapers in question found that, without rendering themselves liable to legal proceedings by inciting their leaders to commit murder, or any act of violence, or an offence under the Explosive Substances Act of 1908, they could with impunity write seditiously, escaping punishment, because the Government were averse to embarking on prosecutions which might fail (through the breakdown of evidence), in obtaining convictions, which were sure to lead to protracted trials, and involved the publicity and notoriety desired by the offenders, but inimical to the cause of good government. As the newspapers were thus able to continue their objectionable course without adequate check, the Government undertook further legislation "for the better control of the Press" in The Indian Press Act, I. of 1910, the law applying to the whole Press, and not only to the vernacular portion of it. In providing for the better control of the Press, the Act requires that any person who, after its passing, becomes the keeper of a printing-press shall deposit security which may vary between Rs. 500 and 2,000 (£133). If such a person, after having given security, prints or publishes a book, newspaper, or other document containing prohibited matter, as clearly defined in the Act, the Local Government may declare the security and all copies of the offending publication to be forfeited to His Majesty. If the person deposits fresh security, he may con-

tinue to work his press. But for a second offence the Local Government may, besides declaring the security to be forfeited, confiscate the printing-press. Publishers of newspapers, as distinct from keepers of printing-presses, are similarly required, if they are registered after the passing of the Act, to give security, and are dealt with in the same way as keepers of printing-presses, if they publish prohibited matter. Keepers of printing-presses and publishers of newspapers registered before the passing of the Act are exempt from the requirement as to furnishing security, so long as they do not print or publish prohibited matter. But, if they offend in this respect, the Local Government may require from them security which may range between Rs. 500 and 5,000 (£333). When security has been given, the procedure, in the event of subsequent offences, is as previously described. In certain cases, too, the Local Government may, by notification in the local official *Gazette*, stating the grounds of their opinion, declare any newspaper, book, or other document, wherever printed, containing prohibited matter, to be forfeited to His Majesty. On the issue of such a notification, the incriminated newspaper, book, or other document, may, wherever found, be seized by any Police Officer. A Magistrate may issue a search warrant for the same; and Customs Officers and Post Offices are given special powers to detain any package suspected to contain any prohibited matter.

Against any order of forfeiture made under this Act an appeal may be preferred to the High Court, and such appeals are to be heard by a special Court of three Judges. The definition of prohibited matter given in the Act falls under six heads, which are plainly and comprehensively set out. They include incitements to murder or acts of violence, by inferences, suggestions, allusions, metaphors or implications, or to seduce soldiers or sailors from their allegiance, or to bring the British Government or any Native Prince or Chief, or any class or section of the people into hatred or contempt, or to intimidate criminally any public servant or private individual. This Act is still, so to speak, upon its trial, but so far the omens as to its efficiency are promising. Since it was passed proceedings have been taken under it in a few cases, and some of the newspapers failing to comply with its provisions by furnishing the security required by the Magistrates have been unable to continue publication.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HINDU DRAMA

DRAMA is one of the forms of literature which most closely portrays the character of the nation which has produced it. It is so with the Hindu drama. Although the Hindu theatre cannot strictly be called national, since it was chiefly written to appeal to the literary section of the people, to amuse the great and to please the poets, it nevertheless affords an incomparable opportunity of studying the manners and customs, the religious and secular thought of my countrymen.

As a literary form the Sanskrit drama was by no means the earliest effort made by the human mind in India to place its impressions before the public. Like the intellects of classic Greece and of more modern Western nations, the literary form the Hindus first adopted was lyrical. Some of the hymns of the Rig Veda, the most ancient specimen of literature known to the Aryan race, are lyric in character, though in their dialogues a dramatic element may be traced which scholars assign as the primitive beginnings

of the drama. The next step in literary evolution was the epic, in which India preceded all other lands, for her Ramayana and Mahabharata are probably the oldest examples of epic poetry in the world. Then, third in the literary order of progress, came the drama, a production resulting from a mingling of the elements of lyric and epic poetry, in which poetic feeling and clear power of reasoning are united in the action to give an image of life.

All countries do not possess a dramatic literature. In Egypt, though there was a certain dramatic element in the processions connected with the worship of Osiris, scarcely any trace of regular drama is apparent. Persia possesses no early drama, her theatre being not much more than a century old. The literature of the Hebrews shows no attempt at regular dramatic production. India, on the contrary, like China, has a rich theatre of her own, purely indigenous, a drama which arose independent of Europe or its Asiatic neighbours, and which developed a theory amazing in its scope and intensely interesting when regarded in conjunction with dramatic laws worked out elsewhere, entirely remote from any suspicion of influence.

Hindu drama was in its heyday before the theatres of England, France, or Spain could be said to exist. England's first comedy and tragedy date from the sixteenth century, whereas the earliest well-known Sanskrit play, the

Mrichchhakatika, or the “Toy Cart,” has been ascribed to the second century A.D., and Kalidas, the best-known Hindu dramatic writer, flourished in the fifth century A.D. The Hindu theatre is probably also older than that of the Chinese, the regular beginning of which is usually assigned to A.D. 720. There are, it is true, certain points of resemblance between the Greek and Hindu theatres, but, as M. Sylvain Lévi points out,* these arise naturally from the fundamental and essential laws which govern the drama. There is, therefore, no need to suppose them imitations.

In the comparative history of literature it is interesting to note how a period of material progress brings with or after it a corresponding growth in letters. India, for example, had her times when trade flourished as well as learning, so that great monuments of engineering skill bear witness even to-day to her material prosperity, and her wonderful literature remains to show what culture she had attained in the realms of art. The “spacious days” of Queen Elizabeth, which produced so many shining lights in the English drama, were also an epoch of widening national greatness. Likewise the glory of Spain never shone clearer than before the period when her great dramatic productions were given to the world. Spain and England bear a further analogy to India as far as their theatre is concerned, since in all three countries the drama

* “Le Théâtre Indien,” p. 364.

is an indigenous growth, unfettered in many respects by the rules observed in the theatre of ancient Greece. Theirs is the romantic drama, as opposed to tragedy and comedy in the classical sense. The Hindu theatre had no comedy as distinct from tragedy. Its laws forbade an unhappy ending to a play. Therefore the *genre* to which its followers devoted themselves may be styled tragi-comedy or melodrama, having love as its principal theme.

The Hindu drama, as we know it, exhibits a highly-developed form. We see the full-blown flower without a trace of the bud. The rules are most elaborate, and cannot have sprung complete into being ; hence we may legitimately conclude that the waves of time have obliterated the relics of immature efforts, which, had they been discovered, might have conclusively proved the Hindu drama of more remote antiquity than any theatre of the West. An examination of Hindu dramatic technique will leave no doubt that so complicated a system was the outcome of many centuries' experience. A Hindu play was always composed expressly for some special occasion, such as a coronation, a triumphal procession, a religious festival, a marriage ; and, when that special occasion had passed, it was not as a rule revived. Its general reputation could not therefore have been very widely spread, which would explain the scantiness of information on the early theatre of my country.

Before entering into particulars as to construction, it should be observed that there is ample opportunity for studying the technique of Hindu drama, since scarcely any nation has a more abundant dramatic criticism. One of the best-known works on the subject is the *Dasa Rupaka*, dating from about the eleventh century, when the drama had passed its meridian and was on the downward grade. This is an extensive treatise on the ten species of drama recognized by the Hindus. Mention of the two most important classes must suffice here. (1) The *Nataka*, or play proper, the plot of which must be derived from mythology or history, varied, if desired by the author's own invention. It must place only noble characters, deities, demigods, or kings, upon the stage, and should treat of some heroic passion. The *Sakuntala* of Kalidas is the best example of the *Nataka*. (2) The *Prakarana*, with a fictitious plot laid in a somewhat lower but respectable stratum of society, the characters being taken from actual life, with love as the ruling passion. The *Mrichchhakatika*, or "Toy Cart," is one of the most familiar examples of this form. Besides the ten main divisions of the drama, there were eighteen sub-divisions, each representing a distinct class of play. So much dividing and sub-dividing may seem somewhat futile nowadays, but the distinctions were probably merely technical, and less hampering in practice than their theoretical intricacies would lead one to suppose.

A *Nataka* was divided into not less than five and not more than ten acts ; a comedy into two acts only. The unity of time, as recognized in the classical drama of Europe, was not strictly observed, but each act was usually limited to "one course of the sun," and each play to one year. If a long period elapsed between the acts, the fact was explained by a performer acting as interpreter to the audience. Neither was the unity of place considered a dramatic necessity, for as there were no regular theatres, and as plays were generally performed with few scenic effects in the courts of palaces open to the air, nothing was easier than an imaginary change of scene. Long descriptive passages helped to supply the want of elaborate staging. As for the unity of action, it was strictly prescribed, and corresponded to the theory practised in the Greek drama.

Rules for the construction of the stage were decreed by certain early writers. The manner in which the foundations were ordained to be laid shows that the Hindu theatre carried out its performances under religious auspices. A favourable day and hour having been fixed for the ceremony, some one was chosen to plant the pillars, which were to be of gold or some other choice material, such as acacia or sandal wood. The front of the stage was to be adorned with carved wood, and decorated with festoons of flowers and flags. There was a green-room on

the west side of the stage, and a cloth curtain, the colour of which was changed according to the character of the emotions depicted in each scene.* The psychology of colour was a subject evidently studied at an early period by the Hindus, though their interpretation differed in certain instances from that current in the West. Ruskin has noticed how colour is the type of love, and how love is connected in the mind with the blossoming of the earth, with her fruits, with the spring and fall of the leaf, and with the morning and evening of the day. But the early Hindu dramatists apparently did not take the pink flush of dawn or the soft warmth of the crimson rose as emblematical of love, for the hue of the curtain prescribed to attune the mind of the audience to that sentiment was white. At the same time, it may be noticed that a pinkish shade connoted tenderness. Red to typify anger is common to both East and West. Similar colour symbolism was evident in the dress of the Hindu actors, the hues of which were intended to reveal the character of the wearer. As a type of purity white is favoured by both East and West. It was worn in the early Hindu drama by Brahmans, courtiers, ascetics, women, and their attendants. Coloured robes were donned by heroes and supernatural beings, while the villains of the play appeared in soiled garments,

* "The Hindu Drama," by Raja Sir Sourindro M. Tagore
p. 5.

to bear witness to their abandoned state. These rules, of course, permitted of modification, but they serve to show that the Hindus realized the power of the appeal to the eye. The paint used by the actors was white, blue, yellow, red, and the shades formed by an admixture of these. It varied in hue according to the characters. Kings could have either a light or a dark complexion. A light shade revealed a happy, joyous temperament.* Nowadays, when the question of the psychological effect of colour is beginning to interest the Western world, and when the tone of the wall-paper and the shade of the hangings are believed to exert a subtle influence upon our daily lives, it might be worth while to look into what Hindu psychologists have written on the subject.

Admission to the play in its early days in India was not dependent solely on the possession of a certain amount of coin. Modern box-office managers would despair if they were required to investigate the personal character of would-be patrons, but that was apparently considered desirable by the serious minds who laid down the rules of the Hindu theatre. People of heterodox views or of vicious habits were to be banished from the theatre. The sick and any who were wanting in appreciation were also to be excluded. So the promoters endeavoured to secure a sympathetic audience for the actors.

* Sylvain Lévi, "Le Théâtre Indien," p. 388.

Plays usually began at sunrise. The king or most honoured person present had his special place assigned to him on the east side of the stage. On his left sat the ladies, their presence at public performances proving the freedom which the Hindu Shastras allow to women. On his right hand sat other royalties, high dignitaries, and men of learning. Brahmans sat on the south side. Special seats were also allotted to the king's ministers and attendants. Music was regularly employed as an adjunct to the theatre.

Sanskrit poetry is among the most beautiful in the world, and a sense of harmony and fitness was aimed at in the very naming of the characters as well as in the general melody of the verse. All Sanskrit proper names have a meaning, and the chief *dramatis personæ* had to bear names indicative of their character. Thus, the king's name often signified heroism ; the buffoon's, merriment ; some women's names meant flowers, gems, creepers, rivers, or stars.

To show the Hindu's minute study of characterization, it may be noted that, exclusive of all other classes of male characters, there are no less than 144 kinds of hero mentioned in treatises on the Sanskrit drama, and 384 kinds of women. Unlike the early English stage, the Hindu theatre permitted women players, and its best female characters exhibit the ideal qualities of the Hindu woman — gentleness, tenderness, modesty, and simplicity. The very extensive

list of terms given in the dramatic treatises to describe the various actions and sentiments of women show that feminine psychology had long been made a subject of study by the Hindus. The best-known specimens of the Hindu drama contain frequent reflections on the Indian woman. In the Vikramorvasi of Kalidas her beauty draws forth the hero's adoration :

“ Love

Himself was her creator, whilst the moon
Gave her his radiance, and the flowery spring
Taught her to madden men and gods with passion.”*

The same dramatist notices her quickness to discern the false from the true :

“ A woman is clear-sighted, and mere words
Touch not her heart. Passion must give them credit.”†

Witness is again borne in the Mrichchhakatika to her swift intuition :

“ Nature is woman's teacher, and she learns
More sense than man, the pedant, gleans from books.”‡

In the same play her singing is said to be “like bees intoxicated with flowery nectar.” Her graceful dancing, her intellectual acquirements shown in reading plays and poems, are likewise mentioned, also her fickleness, for surely

“ The ocean waves
Are less unsteady, and the varying tints
Of eve less fleeting than a woman's fondness.”§

* “The Theatre of the Hindus,” by H. H. Wilson, vol. i., p. 202.

† *Ibid.*, p. 224.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

And, alas ! her powers of deception :

“ Brief as the lightning’s flash
Is woman’s love. Nay, she can look devotion
To one man whilst another rules her heart.”*

Yet, in spite of these touches of cynicism, anticipating by about fourteen centuries Hamlet’s “ Frailty, thy name is woman,” the early Hindus had a high ideal of woman, and in most of their dramas they represent her as tender, generous, deeply affectionate, full of sweetness and of grace.

Early Hindu drama has several points in common with the Western theatre. Like the early English stage, which had its clown or fool to amuse the audience, the Hindus had the companion of the hero, the *Vidushaka*, who was always a Brahman, but whose buffoonery was somewhat rough and broad, unlike the airy wit and delicate fancy of the fool of Shakespearean comedy. The confidant of the French stage is present also, represented in the man’s case by the *Vidushaka* or the *Vita*, the latter being a hanger-on of a wealthy employer, who was supposed both to amuse and instruct his patron, and in the woman’s case by a girl friend or a female attendant.

Yet another point of resemblance between the Hindu and the Western drama lies in the idea

* “ The Theatre of the Hindus,” by H. H. Wilson, vol. i., p. 77.

of destiny, which prevails both in the Sanskrit and Greek theatres. The Greek idea of Nemesis differed, however, from the conception of Fate which forms the groundwork of the whole Hindu faith. To the Hindu the present is but the harvest of the past, yet with a hope which the Greeks lacked, since he believes that by the present the future, too, is shaped, and thus past, present, future are linked together in one infinite, ever-evolving chain. Kalidas' drama of Vikramorvasi shows the idea of Fate throughout the action. The sense of the future's dependence on the present is manifest in the Mrichchhakatika, where the Prince, the villain of the piece, urges his servant to murder the heroine. He offers him gold, dainty meats, promotion—any boon he likes to crave—if he will only do the deed. But the man is afraid. Of what? Not the sharp stake nor any present punishment such as Western hirelings dread, but of that which the coming ages will surely have in store for the murderer.

PRINCE. Of whom are you, my servant, to be afraid?

SERVANT. Futurity.

PRINCE. And who is Mr. Futurity, pray?

SERVANT. The requiter of our good and evil deeds.

PRINCE. And what is the return for good?

SERVANT. Wealth and power like your honour's.

PRINCE. And what for evil?

SERVANT. Eating, as I do, the bread of slavery; I will not do, therefore, what ought not to be done.

PRINCE. You will not obey me? (*Beats him.*)

SERVANT. Beat me if you will, kill me if you will, I cannot do what ought not to be done. Fate has already punished me with servitude for the misdeeds of a former life, and I will not incur the penalty of being born again a slave.*

But the Sanskrit drama bears many more points of resemblance to the romantic drama of England than to the classic drama of Greece. Elasticity in the observance of the "unities" is apparent in both; in both the love-interest is a prominent feature; in both are found frequent instances of the intervention of the powers of magic to further the action. Other similar stage devices are found in both. For example, the employment of a play within a play, such as occurs in "Hamlet" and the "Midsummer Night's Dream," was a favourite expedient of Hindu dramatic writers to help on the action. This device, as Mr. A. V. Williams Jackson points out in his article on Sanskrit plays,† is not found in Kalidas, and occurs for the first time in the Priyadarsika of Harsha Deva (seventh century A.D.). Bhavabhuti, in his *Uttara-Rama-Charita*, also employs the device of the play within a play, and several other instances are found in the Sanskrit drama. This feature is not present, so far as I know, in European drama until it appears in the sixteenth century in the Elizabethan drama of

* "The Theatre of the Hindus," by H. H. Wilson, vol. i., p. 133.

† *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xix., 1898.

England, about nine centuries later than its first appearance in India. The same writer, Mr. A. V. Williams Jackson, notes the use of letters to further the action in the plays of Kalidas, and compares them with Hamlet's love-letter to Ophelia and Orlando's missives to Rosalind. With Kalidas the favourite material for love-letters is a leaf, on which his heroines inscribe their tender sentiments with their finger-nail. One slight but most ingenious means of forwarding the action has not, so far as I am aware, a parallel in English drama. It is found in Harsha Deva's Ratnavali, where a talking parrot repeats a conversation between the heroine and her confidante, and so betrays to King Vatsa the happy fact that he has won her affection. Many little touches which may appear odd to my Western readers occur throughout the Sanskrit plays, showing the hold which some beliefs had upon the people, as they had in Shakespeare's day in England. In the Mrich-chhakatika the twitching of the right eye is an unlucky omen for a woman, and the throbbing of the left eye betokens misfortune to a man. Other evil portents are slipping, trembling of the left arm, a black snake, and the cries of birds. Similarly, Macbeth's witches are warned by the pricking of their thumbs of the approach of evil, while examples in Shakespeare of the gloomy augury of the night-bird's cry are too well known to require citation.

The beauty of the Sanskrit diction must of necessity lose much of its subtle spirit in the passage into another language, and the reader of an English translation therefore misses much of the wonderful music and grandeur of the original verse. Various metres are used in the poetic descriptions, though the dialogue is usually in prose. A peculiar feature in Hindu drama is the regular employment of Sanskrit by the principal male characters, and of Prakrit (the vernacular) by women and male characters of less importance. The vernaculars varied according to the social position of the speakers.

To show further the conduct of the Hindu drama, I propose to take the earliest well-known Sanskrit play, and describe the progress of its action. The *Mrichchhakatika*, or the "Toy Cart," dates probably from the second century A.D. It has been ascribed to a royal author, King Sudraka, and is a ten-act melodrama, with an action occupying four days, and introducing twenty-seven characters. M. Sylvain Lévi ranks its author and Kalidas as the two greatest dramatic poets of India.

First of all, as to the plot, it should be observed that the Western reader must be prepared to rid himself of certain prejudices, since the subject presents features perhaps not altogether sympathetic to the Occidental mind. But, as Schlegel says, no man can be a true critic or connoisseur without universality of

mind. He must be able "to adapt himself to the peculiarities of other ages and nations—to feel them, as it were, from their proper central point." This is the spirit in which to approach the Hindu drama. The *Mrichchhakatika* deals with the love of a merchant for a beautiful courtesan, a class which was accorded a position of comparative honour in those days. The fact that in the play the lady marries the merchant, and is received and welcomed by his first wife, shows that a different standard prevailed at that epoch.

The first act opens, as usual, with a benediction. This was generally recited by the *Sutradhara* (holder of the thread), the stage-manager, and was in most cases an invocation of Siva, the great Transformer of Psychic Forces. Then the stage-manager informs the spectators of the nature of the drama they are about to witness, giving a flattering portrait of the author, with a short synopsis of the plot. There follows a dialogue between him and an actress, all of which forms the prelude, corresponding to the Induction of early English comedy, and ending with the manager's calling upon one of the characters behind the scenes to approach, whereupon the regular action of the play commences.

The part played by the *Sutradhara* is so unique that I should like to draw special attention to it. He seems to have been the great director whom Mr. E. Gordon Craig sees as the future reformer of the English stage, the

man whom he hopes "shall contain in him all the qualities which go to make up a master of the theatre." The new stage-director is to be more than the actors; he is to be as the conductor to his orchestra. He must have studied all the technical points of the various crafts connected with the theatre; he must be a master of the uses of actions, words, line, colour, and rhythm. Something like this, one would imagine, was the ideal *Sutradhara* of the Hindu drama, and so in this point, as in many others, my country anticipated modern Western ideas. The *Sutradhara* was to be practically conversant with dramatic rules, with music, poetry, the arts, astronomy, geography, the customs of different nations and ranks of society, the many phases of human nature. This in itself shows the high standard which the Hindus expected from their drama, and the lofty, artistic spirit in which they conceived it.

To resume the analysis of the *Mrichchhakatika*, the first act introduces Charudatta, a merchant once rich, but now plunged in poverty. Suddenly, upon his lamentations comes the heroine Vasantasena, flying from the unwelcome attentions of the villain of the piece, the Raja's brother-in-law. Under cover of the darkness, she has managed to escape through a doorway leading to the house of her lover Charudatta, who escorts her back with all courtesy to her abode.

In Act II. there is a comical scene between a gambler who has run off without paying his debts, and who, walking backwards lest the direction of his footmarks should betray him, enters a temple and stands up motionless on a pedestal to impersonate the deity of the place. Two pursuers track him, sit down near him and begin to play, but so tantalizing is it to him to watch their game of dice that he forgets his rôle, and, jumping off the pedestal, tries to join in the sport. So he is captured, but, escaping, flies to a hospitably open door, which proves to be the portal of Vasantasena's house, and the lady in pity sends a jewel to his enemies to settle his debt. In gratitude the gambler promises to become a pious mendicant.

Act III. contains one of the most amusing scenes in Hindu dramatic literature. The merchant and a friend, returning home late at night, retire to rest, and while they sleep a thief comes to rob the house. This Indian "Raffles" proceeds according to a treatise on theft, a science under the patronage of a divinity (Kartikeya) who teaches four ways of breaking into a house. The Hindu burglar is an artist, and picks out the bricks from the wall in symmetrical fashion, so that the opening effected is in the shape of a water-jar. He enters and carries off a casket of jewels which Vasantasena has left in the merchant's keeping.

In Act IV. Vasantasena learns from the thief

himself that her jewels have been stolen from the merchant, but a messenger comes from Charudatta to announce that he has lost her precious stones at play, and to beg her to accept a necklace of diamonds in their stead. These diamonds have been supplied by the generosity of the merchant's wife. Vasantasena accepts the substitute and sends a message that she will pay a visit that evening to the merchant.

In Act V. a storm is raging, but Vasantasena takes no heed of rain or lightning, and goes to the merchant's dwelling. Here the mystery of the stolen casket is solved, and Charudatta declares his love.

Act VI. shows the object from which the play is named, a toy cart made of clay, belonging to the merchant's little son. The child weeps because he has not a golden cart like his neighbour, and Vasantasena, to please him, pours her jewels into his cart that he may go and buy a golden one such as his heart desires. In leaving the house to meet the merchant at an old flower-garden, Vasantasena gets into the wrong carriage and is borne off in the palanquin owned by the Raja's brother-in-law, while a certain son of a cowherd, who has been arrested because a prophecy foretold that he should ascend the throne, escapes from prison, and seeing Vasantasena's empty carriage, springs into it, and is driven off by the unwatchful charioteer.

Act VII. shows the merchant expecting Vas-

antasena's arrival in the garden, but, alas ! when the carriage arrives he finds the broad-shouldered cowherd's son sitting within, who appeals to him to shield him from his enemies. The merchant cannot refuse, since, according to Hindu religion, no suppliant for protection may sue in vain, and so the aspirant to the crown is allowed to pursue his flight unchecked.

In Act VIII. the driver of the Prince's chariot discovers he has the wrong person. His master, on the arrival of his carriage, finds Vasantasena inside and proceeds to pay her his addresses. She spurns him, and in his rage he drags her from her seat, rains blows upon her, and tries in vain to induce his servant to murder her. She is left senseless and found by the ex-gambler whom she had once rescued from his pursuers, and who now takes her to a place of safety.

In Act IX. Charudatta appears as a prisoner in the Hall of Justice, where he is charged, at the instigation of the Raja's brother-in-law, with the robbery and murder of Vasantasena, and is sentenced to the terrible death reserved for the Indian felon—impalement.

Act X. shows the procession on the way to the execution, the victim adorned with garlands. But Hindu drama demands poetic justice, so the Prince's servant who had driven Vasantasena to the garden escapes from the palace, where he has been kept prisoner, and is just in time to proclaim the merchant's innocence. Thus all ends well,

and Charudatta weds Vasantasena. The Prince is pardoned, the unjust Raja is slain, and Aryaka, the cowherd's son, ascends his throne.

The *Mrichchhakatika* is plainly far from lacking in dramatic interest. Its enormous length would require curtailing, but, apart from that, the realism of the plot and the clearness of the characterization make it seem as if this picture of Hindu life might be worth a trial on the boards of an English theatre. France and Germany have already been adventurous enough to risk the experiment of placing it upon the stage. Paris received it with favour, and at Berlin and Munich it also scored a success. If some enterprising London manager would give one of these Hindu plays a trial, it would at least not be open to critics to remark that England has left it entirely to others to make known to the European theatre the great poetic drama of her mighty Empire, India.

CHAPTER IX

CHRISTIANITY IN HINDUISM

THE proposal for the foundation of Moslem and Hindu Universities has once more brought the question of Christian civilization in India to the front, and therefore the present time, when with the approval of the Government of India a Hindu University for my co-religionists is shortly to be established in India, seems a most favourable opportunity to inquire how far this new centre of Hindu education is likely to co-operate with Christian ideas as taught through the medium of English literature in educational institutions throughout that vast Dependency. The many points of resemblance between the Christian and Hindu religious codes would lead one to think that if stress were laid upon this phase it should not be difficult in the new Hindu University to encourage a spirit of better comprehension between the Hindus and their Christian rulers which would augur well for the future of the two peoples. Every attempt should be made to utilize the Hindu University to remove the spirit of segregation which unquestionably exists

between the Christian Government in India and its Hindu subjects, and thus pave the way to harmonious co-operation between the Aryan rulers and the ruled in India. As a Hindu myself, I shall confine my observations here solely to Hindu ethics as compared with Christian teaching, and shall leave it to a qualified Moslem to discuss the matter as it affects his faith.

The importance of the question may be gathered from the fact that whereas the subjects of the King of England include representatives of the four great world-faiths which count their followers by the hundred million—viz., Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, and Mahomedans—of these, 220 millions, or more than half the total population of the British Empire, are my co-religionists, Hindus. A comparison between Christianity and Hinduism has, therefore, for citizens of the British Empire an Imperial aspect which raises it above a mere academic discussion. India is governed by a Christian Power, and it may perhaps strike the deep student of politics that, since so many Christian ideas are included in the Hindu conception of right and wrong, this may have been instrumental in greatly reducing friction in the Anglo-Indian Legislature when the Christian rulers of India were framing laws and regulations for the hundreds of millions of Hindus there, and thus may have helped to give stability to the

British Raj in Hindustan. Doubtless there is no religion without some points of resemblance to the rest, but the bed-rocks of thought on which the great structures of Christianity and Hinduism are based have so much in common when one gets down to essentials that it seems to me this ought to furnish a great bond of sympathy between the two peoples, and that a general enunciation of the moral codes of Christianity and Hinduism might do much to foster a still clearer understanding between England and her mighty Dependency in the East. To show that there is a vast groundwork of faith which Englishman and Hindu can hold in common must surely help to further that mutual comprehension between East and West which all friends of peace and progress must desire.

That is one aspect of the comparative study of Christianity and Hinduism, but there is another aspect in which it may be approached. As a knowledge of one language aids the acquisition of another, it seems to me that it might be well for Biblical students to take more friendly account of the religious thought of the Hindus, since it is probable that comparison of the two religions would serve not to shake faith but to increase confidence in the essential portions, the vital essence, of which Christianity and Hinduism possess so much in common. Science is not weakened but fortified when

she perceives her laws working in similar fashion throughout the universe, neither is there anything but comfort to the right-thinking mind in the fact that religion also has her general laws. The pity is that men, led astray by adventitious differences, miss the essential resemblances.

Christianity and Hinduism have often been compared by Western scholars, but in most cases such comparisons have either been based largely on the Rig Veda, the bed-rock of Hinduism, or the Bhagavad Gita, immortalized by Sir Edwin Arnold as "The Song Celestial." I do not know of any instance where a parallel has been drawn between those two great religions of the world without direct recourse to the famous Hindu religious classics, the Rig Veda and the Bhagavad Gita. For special reasons, however, I have entirely omitted such comparison here. In the first place I have excluded the Rig Veda because I wish to emphasize the kind of precept that is taught in Hindu India directly to the mass of the people, and the contents of the Rig Veda, though known, of course, to the Hindu scholar, are not familiar to both high and low as are the stories and religious lessons of the Mahabharata. The Mahabharata tales are matters of common knowledge to all Hindus, learned or unlearned ; they are familiar both to the illiterate Hindu grocer or sepoy and to their womenfolk in every

part of India, and perhaps even better known than is the Bible nowadays to the average Englishman. In the second place, although the Bhagavad Gita is embedded in the Mahabharata, I have made no use of it, because so much controversy has raged about the date of its composition. I have, in short, confined myself to giving a slight idea of some points of comparison between the ethics of other portions of the Mahabharata and the Christian teaching contained in the two chief epitomes of Western moral law, the Beatitudes and the Commandments, and have endeavoured to show the wonderful accord between these famous summaries of Christian right conduct and the Hinduism of the greatest Indian epic. Whether the Hindus live up to their lofty precepts is another matter. How many would say that the conduct of the average Englishman to-day follows out the religion taught by Christ? But the rules are there all the same, and if the harmony between these two powerful religious systems were better understood, I think the world would hear less of the irreconcilable differences between England and India. I particularly wish to emphasize the fact that the passages I quote are not solitary instances of agreement with Christian doctrine, but the same ideas are found repeated constantly throughout the great epic, as if to impress them solemnly on the very heart of the people.

Blessed are the poor in spirit. Taking the Beatitudes in order, we find that the first deals with aloofness from the world. Attachment to nothing external, other-worldliness — on this principle Christ undoubtedly based His kingdom, and it is a precept which the Hindu sages of the Mahabharata never wearied of preaching. “Inwardly unattached, though attached in outer seeming, standing aside from the world, with all his fetters riven, looking with equal eye on friend and foe, that man, O King, is held to be emancipate.”* How was the Hindu to attain this spiritual freedom? By knowledge. Knowledge, they said, is the great cure for human pride. “Covetousness in all creatures ariseth out of ignorance. Seeing the mutability of all enjoyment, it dieth.”† How may covetousness be subdued? To Yudhishtira, Hindu Emperor of India and King George’s predecessor on the Delhi throne in the fifteenth century B.C., came the explanation: “When we feel pity for every living creature and perceive the transitoriness of all earthly good.”‡ With true knowledge comes a disregard for worldly objects, and with compassion for all creatures envy dies. Tranquillity of soul is the great consummation devoutly wished by the Hindu sages for mankind, and the mode of life they advocated to attain it was a crushing down of desire.

* Santi Parva xviii. 31.

† *Ibid.* clxiii. 20.

‡ *Ibid.* clxiii. 13.

So they were like the Apostles whom St. Paul described “as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.”* Wealth was to the Hindus of old a thing not actually to be despised, but not to be hoarded up for its own sake. A man was counselled to seek wealth that he might spend it in religious observances, in charity, on sacrifices and in gifts, not that he might lavish it on empty, selfish pleasures.† None can be happy, they said, by acquiring riches. “Who would set his mind on heaping up wealth when destruction will come upon it? Or upon life when the end thereof is death?”‡ “Those who are poor in worldly, but abounding in heavenly, riches, and sacrifices become dauntless and invincible, and should be considered embodiments of Brahma.”§ Such are a few of the Hindu equivalents of Christ’s “Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth,” and “Blessed are the poor in spirit.”

Blessed are they that mourn—so runs the second Beatitude. The Hindus likewise always preached sorrow for sin, and sympathy, but they also taught that “he who sorroweth for the grief of others can never enjoy happiness.”|| “Compassion ariseth from beholding the many helpless and wretched people that the world containeth. Such feelings depart when one

* 2 Cor. vi. 10.

† Santi Parva xxvi. 25, 27, 28.

‡ Ibid. civ. 44.

§ Udyoga Parva xli.

|| Santi Parva xxv. 30.

comprehendeth the power of virtue.”* They never denied that human beings are naturally afflicted by other people’s sorrow. “There are those who foolishly say that in others’ wretchedness no misery lieth. He only who hath never felt wretchedness himself can say this among mankind. One who hath known grief and wretchedness would never assert it.”† Yet at a higher stage still the wise man feels no misery. “Those who are bereft of understanding and those who have mastery over their soul attain happiness here. But they who hold a middle position endure misery.”‡ A somewhat similar spirit may be detected in Christ’s command to His followers to let the dead bury their dead, while they themselves should rather go and preach the Gospel to the living. Practically the same principle is set forth in many places in the Mahabharata. In one passage we find: “The living, not they that have reached felicity, require our sorrow. The sins of that man are multiplied who is mourned by them that are alive.”§ So, though compassion and sympathy are the foundation-stones of Hinduism, indulgence in selfish grief was with the ancient Hindus a yielding to weakness and a useless thing.

Blessed are the meek. Such was Christ’s teaching in the third Beatitude, and I leave

* Santi Parva clxiii. 19.

† Ibid. cxxxix. 64, 65.

‡ Ibid. xxv. 28.

§ Drona Parva lxxi. 18, 19.

it to my readers to judge for themselves the extent to which the Christian world has followed out His precept. How deeply the Hindu has taken to heart the lessons in meekness given in his religious books is proved by the epithet he has earned — sometimes, indeed, applied with a hint of reproach—of “the mild Hindu.” Humility is always enjoined as one of the greatest Hindu virtues. “He who is adorned with every virtue and possessed of humility is never careless of the smallest pain of anything that liveth.”* Humility, therefore, is the root of that sorrow and sympathy which are extolled in the second Beatitude. In another passage of the Mahabharata it is associated with the universal tenderness which was so often praised by Hindu sages: “Humility, affection for all creatures, forgiveness, and consideration for friends—these, say the wise, prolong life.”† Forgiveness, in Hindu estimation, is a marked characteristic of virtue. “The wicked are strong in envy; the virtuous, in forgiveness.”‡ To maintain that equanimity which was their ideal they were to cast aside all passion, all pride, all wrath and hate. There was to be entire discipline, even under provocation. “A wise man should endure in silence everything that the foolish say about him, for what mattereth the praise or blame of the common herd? They are as ineffectual as the crow cawing in the

* Udyoga Parva xxxviii.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

forest."* Is not this calmness under abuse like that of Him Who, when He was reviled, reviled not again? The great teachers of the world have all given the same lessons. Moreover, in the all-important law of Karma, whereby every man worked out his own salvation and paid the penalty of his misdeeds, the Hindus saw that provision was made for justice, and it taught them to leave the evil-doer to the punishment which time itself would bring. In the same way it was written, "Vengeance is Mine; I will repay, saith the Lord."

Christ, in expansion of His teaching in the Beatitudes, told His followers, "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,"† and there is a very close parallel here to the sentiment in the Hindu epic: "If a man should smite off one of my arms, and another should anoint the other arm with sandal unguent, I shall not bear ill-will to the first nor good-will to the second."‡ Quietude, tranquillity under evil, calm amid success or failure—such is the spirit in which the Hindu sages strove to meet life. In those days of old in India man lived very near to the mighty heart of Nature. He saw how the most powerful forces of the universe co-operated with the smallest, how all things worked together calmly and dispassionately to produce the great

* Santi Parva cxiv. 7, 8.

+ St. Matt. v. 39.

‡ Santi Parva ix. 25.

cosmic result at which the human brain marvelled, and his ideal of life was based on the unboastful, quiet, often silent working of the great forces of Nature. That was many centuries ago, before science and learning had dawned upon the Western world, and yet how many of Europe's best-known modern men of letters have drawn the very same lesson from the field of Nature ! Goethe's religious philosophy—how like it seems in many ways to that of the sages of ancient India ! Of Goethe's mental outlook Matthew Arnold wrote :

“ For he pursued a lonely road,
 His eyes on Nature's plan ;
Neither made man too much a God,
 Nor God too much a man.”

Schiller's theory of life is given in one of his own well-known distichs :

“ Dost thou seek the highest, the greatest ? The plant can
 teach it thee.
As it lives unconsciously, do thou live consciously. That
 is the secret.”

Is not this akin to the spirit in which India's great minds looked upon God and the universe in their day so long gone by ? Is it not the teaching of Christ, who bade His people consider the lilies of the field and from their growth derive a lesson ? Matthew Arnold, too, draws a similar parable from Nature's mighty working :

“ And with joy the stars perform their shining,
 And the sea its long moon-silvered roll ;
 For self-poised they live, nor pine with noting
 All the fever of some differing soul.

“ Bounded by themselves, and unregardful
 In what state God’s other works may be,
 In their own tasks all their powers pouring,
 These attain the mighty life you see.”

The same thought has animated Hindu wisdom, Christian teaching, and Western poetry.

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness. Righteousness is the subject of the Hindu sages’ eulogy :

“ Alone, O King, we are born ” [says Vrihaspati to Yudhishthira], “ alone we die, alone we meet the trials of life, alone we face the unhappiness that befall eth us. In these things we have no companion. . . . Only righteousness goeth with our body which all abandon. Therefore it is clear that righteousness alone should be our aim.”*

Throughout the Mahabharata runs the admonition that man should seek wisdom, and wisdom with the Hindus meant a knowledge of virtue, the acquisition of the righteousness for which the Bible says men should crave. It was to them the inward light of knowledge which led men to pursue goodness. Here their thought coincides with that of the famous modern Western scientist who wrote : “ The only medi-

* Anusasana Parva cxi. 11-14.

cine for suffering, crime, and all the other woes of mankind is wisdom." The ancient Hindus laid special stress on the power of knowledge, since with them it always implied a comprehension of their place in the universe, a consciousness that man is part and parcel of a great scheme, that every creature on earth is of the same essence and sprung from the same Divine source as themselves. "When one perceiveth that creatures of unending variety are all the same and but diverse outpourings of the same essence, then one is said to have reached Brahma."* The identifying of every soul with the great Supreme Soul, what is this but the Christian doctrine that men are all children of the same Father? The Hindus held that he who has reached this high state of conscious union with the Deity loses all selfishness, which is the root of evil. When a man has attained it his heart cherishes no desire, and neither in thought, word, nor deed does he seek to do an injury to his fellow-man. Then he fears no creature and is feared by none; then only, having controlled his earthly longings, does he enjoy content. It is the supreme consummation found in every religion that has been conceived for the solace of humankind. This final union with the Divine, this sinking of the self in the one great Universal Being, is it not akin to the conception of that "peace which passeth all

* Santi Parva xvii. 23.

understanding" which the righteous are promised when at length they find themselves in the presence of God?

"Do thou observe righteousness. There is nothing greater than righteousness,"* quotes Bhishma to the Emperor Yudhishtira. And, again, Vidura teaches: "The worlds depend on virtue. By virtue the gods attained their lofty seat. On virtue depend both advantage and wealth. . . . Therefore man should live with soul controlled, seeking virtue above all else, and doing unto every creature as he would unto himself."† Here in these last few words we have almost the equivalent of "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," or the world-famous "Do unto others." Man on this earth enjoyed the fruit of his good deeds in lives long past, so believed the Hindu philosophers, and therefore they besought their followers to seek righteousness. They knew that it is not for everyone to retire from the world and live a life of purity untouched by his fellow-beings. Their ideal was a life of action, with a heart freed from attachment. So when the Emperor Yudhishtira would gladly have resigned his crown and withdrawn to the forest, he was bidden to take up his burden of sovereignty and work in the world, but to live detached from the world. Even so it was with Christ's followers, who were to be *in* the world but not

* Santi Parva xcii. 6.

† *Ibid.* clxvii. 7-9.

of the world, and the righteousness sought by the ancient Hindus was in truth akin to the righteousness preached by Christ and the early teachers of the Christian Church.

Blessed are the merciful. Forgiveness, freedom from malice, and benevolence are three qualities which along with many others are mentioned repeatedly in the Mahabharata as making up the complex virtue of self-restraint. The result of the practice of mercy would seem to be the same both to the Christian and the Hindu : "for they shall obtain mercy," said Christ. Is this not in fact the spirit which runs through all the teaching of the Mahabharata, and which is so near to that other saying of Christ : "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again"? "I believe," said Vyasa the sage to Yudhishthira, "that deeds both good and evil revolve continually as on a wheel, and men reap the fruit both good and evil of the deeds that they have done."* A similar precept is given in the Lord's words to be uttered on the Day of Judgment to His faithful servants : "Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the Kingdom. . . . Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me." In the Lord's Prayer Christians beg that God may reward them according to their deeds : "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against

* Santi Parva xxxiii. 21.

us." Similar doctrines have been instilled into the Hindu mind for centuries. The Hindus even in that early age were well acquainted with the principle of heredity, but they needed something further to assure them of the justice of the inequalities of human life, and that further assurance they found in the law of Karma. In Karma, or evolution of the Soul, there is no give and take, but retribution—good for good, evil for evil—has been reduced to a science.

Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Only when the Hindu has laid aside the qualities of passion and darkness (*rajas* and *tamas*) can he approach the condition of spiritual purity when he becomes one with God. In the simple life of the forest, in strict self-control and suppression of all indulgence, the sages induced a mental ecstasy in which their souls were absorbed in the Divine vision. Over and over again they preach that the man whose heart is torn with worldly desires can never reach that purity of soul and body in which the faithful see God. In the Udyoga Parva, and in other volumes of the Mahabharata too numerous to mention, it is stated that the Everlasting One, Brahma, the Supreme Being, endued with Divinity, is *beheld* by the Yogis with the mental eye, with the mind and heart. Brahma is compared to the sun's Sun,* a metaphor which at once recalls the "Light of Light" of the Creed,

* Udyoga Parva xlvi.

the “Light of the World” of Christ, and the city told of in the Revelation which “had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.”*

It is unnecessary to lay stress on the fact that spirituality is the foundation of the religion taught by Christ. “It is the spirit that quickeneth,” He said; “the flesh profiteth nothing.”† In this bustling, material age the Hindu ascetic’s scorn of the body is sometimes held up to ridicule, and yet it seems to be a guiding principle of Christ’s doctrine. He did indeed come “eating and drinking,” and performed many miracles and good deeds for the material benefit of those around Him, but He always preached that the spiritual part of man was of paramount value, that the flesh warred against the spirit, that the kingdom of heaven could only be reached if man would take His yoke upon him. He retired into solitude to commune with His Father; He approved of fasting as a means to spiritual purification. Fasting and solitary meditation were integral parts of the ancient Hindu teaching. The sages of Hindu India taught that the body is a chariot with the senses as its steeds to guide it towards Brahma, the unchanging God. With well-trained steeds, they said, the wise go easily and happily on the journey of life, but with untrained horses the Soul (the driver) is carried

* Rev. xxi. 23.

† St. John vi. 63.

to destruction.* “To save one’s soul the entire earth may be sacrificed,”† says Vidura, a maxim which reminds the Biblical student of Christ’s question, “What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?”‡ The supreme stages of every religion are incomprehensible to the ordinary mortal, but in every clime and in every age there have been devotees who have counted the earth as naught in comparison with things spiritual, and have cast aside all wordly joys that they might obtain inward happiness. The Christian religion teaches that God Himself abides in the heart of those who seek Him, a truth which was also known to the ancient teachers of India. “With thy senses and thy mind under entire control, seek thou that Brahma which doth abide in thine own soul.”§ To attain such purity by sudden effort was manifestly impossible, and the Hindu sages recognized four modes of life, or stages through which man may pass and reach perfection. These were (1) *Brahmacharyya*, the life of a disciple with his preceptor, the learning stage ; (2) *Garhasthya*, the life of the householder, or domesticity, in which man may strive to attain virtue, riches, and pleasure ; (3) *Vanaprastha*, or a life of withdrawal to the forest, that the senses may be brought under control ; (4) *Sannyasa*, a life of complete renunciation, of religious

* *Udyoga Parva* xxxiii. and xlvi.† *Ibid.* xxxvi.

‡ St. Matt. xvi. 26.

§ *Udyoga Parva* xlvi.

mendicancy. These four modes, if practised each in turn, were, they said, like a ladder leading up to Brahma.* It does not require a great stretch of imagination to see in the life of Christ some sort of shadowing of these stages. First came His childhood, in which He doubtless learned as other children do; then His early manhood, in which, living with His father and mother a life of domesticity, He plied His carpenter's trade; then His period of seclusion, of which the world knows so little; and lastly, His ministry of three years' duration, in which He led a life not of withdrawal from His fellow-men, but certainly of renunciation of all things in which men usually find happiness.

Purity of heart and mind is preached, therefore, alike by Christian and Hindu, and often in phrases which startle the reader by their similarity. "Except ye be converted, and become as little children," said Christ, "ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."† "He, O King," says Sanatsujata, "who devoteth himself to ascetic practices . . . purifieth thereby his earthly body, and is possessed of true wisdom, for thus he becometh like a child, and in the end overcometh death."‡ "Of such," said Christ, blessing the little children, "is the kingdom of heaven."§ To attain the final purity set up as supreme goal by both Hindu and Christian

* Santi Parva cclii. 15.

† St. Matt. xviii. 3.

‡ Udyoga Parva xlili.

§ St. Matt. xix. 14.

rebirth is necessary, a fundamental change. Matthew Arnold notices how this teaching is the common basis of all religions :

“ Which has not taught weak wills how much they can ?
 Which has not fall'n on the dry heart like rain ?
 Which has not cried to sunk, self-weary man :
Thou must be born again ! ”

Blessed are the peacemakers. The Hindu is above all a man of peace. Peace in his great goal ; to be at one with God, at one with his fellow-man. “ Angry words inflame and burn man’s life, his bones, his heart, and dry up the springs of his existence, He, therefore, who hath virtue should ever withhold his tongue from angry words. . . . He who is wise, even if smarting and grievously wounded with the sharp arrows of speech, should endure them calmly, bearing in mind that the merits of the evil-speaker become his own.”* Again, in the same volume of the Mahabharata it is written : “ The gods themselves desire the presence of him who, suffering abuse, doth not himself give back like for like, nor bid others return it, or of him who, when struck, doth not give back the blow, nor bid others return it, and who beareth no ill-will to the offender.”† The peacemakers, said Christ, shall be called the sons of God ; the very gods, said the Hindu sage, desire the presence of the man who strives for peace. ‘The words may

* Udyoga Parva xxxv.

† *Ibid.*

be slightly different, but the spirit of the two passages is identical.

To the end that the Hindu may cease from worldly strife the great doctrine of self-control is enjoined upon him, and in the sum total of virtues whose union is called self-restraint are always named forgiveness, abstention from injury, mildness, modesty, pleasant speech, universal friendliness—surely the qualities which either in East or West most conduce to concord. The Santi Parva, or Peace volume, of the Mahabharata is in great part devoted to the study of such things as make for peace. The ancient Hindus knew what Western science teaches—that this whole universe is a battle-field, that every state of Nature is a continual tension of conflicting forces, that every change means the temporary subdual of some forces by others—and, realizing this, they strove to regulate the various forces at play upon their mind and body so that there should be equilibrium throughout the system. The balancing of mind and body was one of the special studies of these early sages, as it is one of the great objects of modern Western medical research. With mind and body held in right subjection, an everlasting tranquillity, they believed, would descend upon the soul, the contentment which they prized as the highest virtue, the peace which is neither glad nor sad, but the sweet calm which lies within the golden mean.

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake. The life of virtue is never represented either by the Hindu or the Christian as an easy life. To the Hindu also it meant renunciation, but with the quietude of spirit that ensued when a man perceived his true position in the world came an indifference to any wrong which others committed against him. "Censure and approval can neither harm nor help me. . . . The man who is liberated from all his faults sleepeth without fear in this world and afterwards, even beneath the insults of others."* This is the attitude which the Hindu is taught to adopt towards persecution for righteousness' sake.

Limitations of space compel me, after this slight outline of a few points of resemblance between Hindu religious teaching and the Beatitudes, to pass on to consider the most important of the Biblical Commandments, especially those dealing with man's duty towards his neighbour, and here again I should like to lay stress on the wonderful frequency with which other precepts similar to those that I shall quote are found throughout the Mahabharata, the stupendous epic of the Hindus.

Thou shalt have no other gods before Me, the first Commandment, is perhaps the one above all others to which the casual Western critic might think no parallel could be found, since it asserts

* Santi Parva ccxxix. 20, 22.

the essential unity of the Godhead, and Hindus are known to worship the Deity under various forms. But in the great epic we find : " There is but one Brahma which is the very truth. Through ignorance of the One, men have thought that there were divers godheads."* Some Occidentals in India once tried to find out from illiterate Hindus of the poorest classes, whom they had seen evidently worshipping various gods, how many deities they really believed in, and in each case the peasant, holding up one finger, gave the same apparently inconsistent reply : ' One God.' The Hindu religion adapts itself in details to its followers. For intellects not sufficiently developed to grasp the idea of an omnipotent, all-present, all-pervading Being, there are other forms under which God may be adored. Just as the Roman Catholics often address their prayers to the Almighty Father through the Mother of Christ, or through various saints, and yet believe in one Supreme Godhead, so the Hindus may make their supplications through lesser deities which are but different manifestations of the great Supreme Deity, and which, as was plain in the case of the Hindu peasants I have mentioned, are understood by them to be so. To the educated Hindu the gods and goddesses of his pantheon are symbols of the great psychic forces of Nature ; to the less-educated they have, of course, a somewhat different meaning. But the fact of the

* Udyoga Parva xlii.

unity of Divinity underlies the religious conceptions of both learned and unlearned.

The Bible teaches that the Creator is the Father of all mankind, and the same relationship is predicated on several occasions in the Mahabharata of the Eternal Brahma, the Supreme Deity, whom Christians often think the Hindus look on as a purely intellectual force. In the great epic it is written : "I am the mother and father, and I am the son. Of everything that is, that was, and that is to come I am the Soul. I am the grandsire, I am the father, I am the son. . . . Brahma is active in every creature. They who know Him are aware that the Universal Father hath His abode within the heart of everything that liveth."* So, as men of different countries use different language to express their thoughts, men of different lands have different forms of religion, under which run the same ideas.

Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. We find for this no literal equivalent in Hindu India, though the spirit of it exists in all Hindu religious observances. Not once a week, but every day has the Hindu to perform his religious rites ; and so pure must he hold himself that he is not permitted to utter the name of the Deity in prayer unless he has first bathed. In the Mahabharata the householder is bidden to attend *daily* to his sacred fire and to his sacri-

* Udyoga Parva xlv.

ficial offerings.* Fasts, too, are mentioned as ordained for each of the four orders on certain special occasions, and at particular phases of the moon.† Special feasts also are appointed, and on all fast-days only simple cooking for the young and the infirm is required, and less work in general is demanded even in modern India from Hindu servants by their masters and mistresses, who thus observe a similar rule to that law of fellowship enjoined by the Biblical command to extend the privileges of the holy day to men-servants and maid-servants. The admonition to work contained in the second part of the fourth Commandment, "Six days shalt thou labour," is certainly not wanting in this great storehouse of the Hindu religion. Over and over again it is preached that idleness means misery, but industry and cleverness bring with them good-fortune, contentment, and honour. Even kings are counselled to fulfil their duties and engage in the work which their Creator has ordained for them. A life of detachment does not necessarily mean to the Hindu a life of idleness; renunciation of work, he is taught, is usually for the old and incapable.‡

Honour thy father and thy mother. On this subject there is no difference in the Biblical and Hindu precepts, except that reverence for his parents is, if possible, more strongly urged upon

* Anusasana Parva xcvi. 7. † *Ibid.* cvi. 11 *et seq.*

‡ Santi Parva x. 22.

the Hindu than upon the followers of Moses or of Christ. Respect for elders is part and parcel of the life of the Hindus. It is seen in their modes of speech, in their actions, in the little courtesies and conventions of daily intercourse, even in the attitude of the sexes towards each other, for among relatives and friends special courtesy is usually accorded to those who are older in years, regardless of sex. Duties towards all relatives are expressly set forth in the *Mahabharata*,* showing how far the Hindu sages went in inculcating the observance of courtesy between kith and kin ; but to honour their parents was a very special admonition. "Which are the duties that it is most necessary to practise ?" asks Yudhishtira, and Bhishma makes reply :

"The worship of mother, father, and preceptor. . . . He who observeth that duty here on earth attaineth high renown and abodes of happiness hereafter. . . . One should never disobey them. . . . By always obeying the father, one may pass safely through this world. By obeying the mother, one may gain felicity in the next world. . . . Never eat before they have eaten, nor reserve for thyself choicer food than for them ; never ascribe any blame to them ; always wait upon them humbly. . . . Thus thou shalt attain glory, distinction, honour, and abodes of happiness in the next world. . . . The mother is

* *Udyoga Parva xxxviii.*

greater than ten fathers, or even than the whole world. There is none so worthy of reverence as the mother. . . . By refraining from punishing one's father and mother even if they commit wrong, no fault is incurred. . . . They that injure in thought or deed their preceptor, father, or mother, incur the most heinous sin. No evil-doer is like unto them. That son whom his parents have reared and who when he groweth up doth not in his turn maintain them, is guilty of the most heinous sin. No evil-doer is like unto him.”*

The mother is always looked up to with special reverence in Hinduism. “No mode of life is better than that of serving one's mother,”† says Bhishma. Moreover, Hinduism goes farther than the Bible, for it even enjoins special rules of conduct towards the father-in-law and mother-in-law, the observance of which might be thought by some Occidentals to be a particularly severe test of virtue.

Thou shalt not kill. To kill any creature wantonly was with the Hindus an act of sin. “Those cruel and evil-hearted men who deprive other creatures of life are like venomous snakes, a source of danger to all.”‡ In other passages the duty of abstention from injuring any creature is mentioned : “The conclusion which the wise come to is that the religion whose aim is to

* Santi Parva cviii. 1-29.

† *Ibid.* clxi. 9.

‡ *Ibid.* cxliii. 14.

refrain from injuring any creature should gain approval from the righteous.”* Even for cutting down living trees a penalty was prescribed.† But, on the other hand, the Hindu sages recognized the fact that destruction is going on every instant in the world around us. “This mobile and immobile universe is food for all that liveth. Thus have the gods decreed. . . . Even ascetics cannot live without destroying life. In water, upon earth, and in fruits there are countless living things. We do not sin if we support life by them, since what greater duty can there be than to maintain life?”‡ The Mahabharata contains some scathing comments on cruelty in sport. “He who with savage looks taketh the lives of other creatures, who seizeth strong sticks to injure them, who appeareth with weapons upraised, who slaughtereth living things, who is lacking in compassion, who spreadeth confusion among living things, who spareth nothing, neither worms nor ants, who is filled with cruelty, such a man descendeth into hell.”§ Again, we read: “He who is cruel in behaviour, who filleth all creatures with fear, who doeth injury to others with the hands or feet, or cords, or staves, or brickbats, or hard lumps of earth, or by any other methods of causing injury and pain . . . he who hunteth creatures and maketh them tremble for terror, he who doeth this will

* Santi Parva xxi. 10, 11. † *Ibid.* xxxvi. 34.

‡ *Ibid.* xv. 22-25.

§ Anusasana Parva cxliv. 49-51.

surely descend into hell."* Abstention from cruelty was with the Hindus one of the highest forms of religion.

Thou shalt not commit adultery. As one turns the pages of the Mahabharata the passages urging purity of life seem almost endless. On both sexes the same injunction is laid. "He" [the householder] "should be satisfied with his own wedded wife."† "He who taketh to himself the wife of a man who hath trusted in him . . . incurreth the sin of slaying a Brahman."‡ "Virtuous wives . . . are embodiments of domestic happiness."§ Fearful penalties are laid down in other places for the sin of adultery, showing that the Hindu standard of morality in this matter coincided entirely with that held up for imitation in the seventh Commandment.

Thou shalt not steal. "He who robbeth another's wealth, robbeth from him his religion also,"|| is a saying in the great epic, meaning that riches enable a man to perform the duties of his religion. Protection of his people by exterminating robbers was one of the duties of a king. It speaks well for ancient India that there seem to be fewer precepts directly forbidding theft than those which enjoin the bestowal of gifts. Theft, of course, is discountenanced in every one of the many passages

* Anusasana Parva cxlv. 32-34.

† Santi Parva lxi. 11.

‡ Udyoga Parva xxxvi.

§ *Ibid.* xxxvii.

|| Santi Parva viii. 13.

which bid men lay aside desire and the passion of covetousness, appropriation of the wealth of others being expressly mentioned as one of the evils that proceed from covetousness, that vice which the sages said was the source of sin and irreligion and hypocrisy and guile.*

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. In the Mahabharata the virtue of truth is impressed upon the Hindu as strongly as the Biblical Commandment urged it upon the Jew. In the Hindu epic it is recorded : “ He who is a witness is so because he hath seen, heard, and comprehended a thing, therefore he should ever speak the truth. A witness who speaketh the truth never loseth his religious merit and worldly wealth as well.”† Such was the moral code of the ancient Hindus concerning witnesses. If a man when asked a question did not reply, though knowing the answer, he was said to be guilty of a grave offence, equal to half the sin of a lie ; if he replied falsely, though aware of the truth, he was deemed guilty of the whole penalty for a lie. “ He who knoweth should speak the truth without dissimulation,”‡ is the teaching of the Mahabharata. Over and over again falsehood is included among the list of sins to be shunned by men ; over and over again the virtue of truth is lauded to the skies.

* Santi Parva clviii. 18.

+ Sabha Parva lxviii.

† *Ibid.* lxviii.

Thou shalt not covet. Covetousness and ignorance are the same, says the Mahabharata ; the one arises from the other. “Covetousness is the root of all faults : therefore all should shun covetousness. . . . By shunning covetousness thou shalt attain felicity both here and hereafter.”* The only cure for covetousness, it says, is tranquillity of soul. The passages in which freedom from all desire is inculcated are so numerous as to make it impossible by quotation to give any idea of the stress laid upon this point. The ancient sages knew that covetousness meant more than desire for merely material good, that it could extend itself to every impulse which animates the heart of man, and that in covetousness every kind of fault is found. So they prohibited all desires if man would attain happiness. Desires were to be drawn in, they said, as a tortoise draws in his limbs. Even men of great merit and wisdom, they knew, were not free from temptation to this vice. If they had had a Decalogue, like the Hebrews, “Thou shalt not covet” would, I think, have come nearer the first than the last of the list of duties towards one’s neighbour.

Instances of such similarities between Christianity and Hinduism as are quoted in the foregoing pages might easily be multiplied from the eighteen volumes of the Mahabharata

* Santi Parva clix. 12-14.

without having any recourse to the Bhagavad Gita, but enough has been advanced to show that the essentials of the Christian moral code are to be found in the fundamental doctrines of Hindu morality. Doctrines such as I have put forward, which are both Christian and Hindu in their nature, have been taught in Hindu India for centuries before the Christian era through the Mahabharata, a poem which in the Sanskrit original is adored by the learned Hindu, and in the various Indian vernaculars is most popular from end to end of the vast continent of India. So the Hindu sages, many centuries before the advent of the Messiah in Palestine, laid the foundation of a moral code in India similar to that of Christianity. They often explained their moral teachings. For instance, the highest law of morality taught by Christ was, no doubt, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," though why one should love one's neighbour as one's self is not explicitly stated anywhere in the Bible. But the Hindu Rishis, who about twenty centuries before the Sermon on the Mount likewise enunciated that great precept, gave also the reason underlying it. In the words *Tat tvam asi* ("that thou art") they told the native of Hindustan that he must love his neighbour because he himself is his neighbour. "Lift up the veil of illusion" (*Maya*), they said, "and thou shalt see that *thou art thy neighbour.*"

My comments on Christianity and Hinduism may possibly appeal to those among others who feel interested in Christian missionary labours. Some may argue that, as Christian doctrine already exists in Hinduism, there is all the greater scope for the extension of Christian missionary work in India ; another set of people, looking on the matter from a different point of view, may perhaps draw exactly the reverse conclusion, and say that, as so much of Christianity is included in the Hindu conception of religion, there is no room for a separate propaganda. A third set, whom I should style practical Imperialists, may like to take advantage of the establishment of the new Hindu University to emphasize to the students those points in Hinduism which are, as I have shown, essentials of Christianity. In so doing they might disarm the opposition of the orthodox Hindu, which at present is always levelled against the dissemination of Christian doctrine as a separate teaching in the Indian Empire. Broad-minded Christian missionaries who sincerely desire the message of their Saviour to be more widely known throughout India will perhaps welcome my suggestion, and put themselves into intimate touch with those leaders of Hindu thought who have dived deep into Western culture and who are the supporters of the proposed University.

CHAPTER X

BRITISH STATESMANSHIP AND INDIAN PSYCHOLOGY

BRITISH statesmen, while devoting their energies to the good government of India, have seldom sufficiently realized that the native of India has psychological traits perhaps as stable as his physiological characteristics. The mind of the people is the medium through which they see and feel the things about them. The constituent elements of the Anglo-Saxon and the Indian mind are different, and as the English physician would be wrong in neglecting to take into consideration the physiological peculiarities of an Indian patient, so the British administrator may have to pay dearly if he fails to keep constantly in view the psychological differences between himself and his Indian ward.

The publication a few months ago in the British Press of a report that the Indian Princes, after conferring together, had decided to offer three super-Dreadnoughts and nine first-class armoured cruisers for the defence of the Indian Empire furnishes the student of psychology in

Imperialism with much food for reflection. That it should have been credited even for a moment and given out by leading British newspapers shows that the psychological aspect of the question has been overlooked. Those who know my country must at once have asked themselves : “Can the Government of India, as at present constituted and worked, evoke the enthusiastic loyalty which alone could induce the natives of India to part with £25,000,000 for the proposed native Indian Navy ?”

One hears a great deal nowadays of “loyalty,” but what is its inner meaning ? Let us think a little of the causes and convergent influences which regulate the psychological forces behind the word. When an Englishman feels loyal to the King, he dwells on that idea with pleasure and with a sense of warmth at the heart, for to him it *includes a sentiment of pride in the greatness of his country, and a consciousness of his own personal share in maintaining that greatness.* But what does loyalty mean to the Indian, whether Moslem or Hindu ? When the idea is brought before him, it comes in most cases with a jerk, and quickly disappears, for he has no real part in England’s greatness. If he has, why can he not even land in Australia, and why has he so much trouble in Canada and South Africa, though these lands are all under the British flag ? I need not here enter into the question of whether the citizen exists for the Empire or the Empire

for the citizen ; the fact remains that the native of India is not a citizen of the Empire. Even an Indian Prince may not land in Australia, and there are all sorts of rules and regulations against the British Indian in South Africa and Canada. Moreover, many distinguished Englishmen are of opinion that the position of the British Indians in the Transvaal to-day is not likely to make them enthusiastically loyal. The British Indian sees that even the Indian subject of Portugal can enter South Africa with less trouble than himself. For this and other reasons he actually believes that other Asiatics fare better in British Colonies than he does, and thus he is helped to the conclusion that he is not a citizen of the Empire.

The British Indian's position in England's Colonies is scarcely likely to foster in him a spirit of ardent loyalty to the Empire at large. He is the subject of the King of England, but with such great limitations that he cannot at all persuade himself that he is a citizen of the British Empire like the Canadian or the Australian. Let us now consider his position in India itself and see if there are other grounds on which he might be supposed to cherish the same sentiment of enthusiastic loyalty towards British rule as Englishmen feel.

Take the three professions which are regarded as affording the most distinguished and traditional careers for sons of English gentlemen—the Church,

the Navy, and the Army. How does sentiment work with regard to them in Native India ? The State Church is Christian, and the vast majority of the population, Hindu and Moslem, can naturally expect nothing from that, nor has it fallen to the lot of the native Christian convert to benefit materially by the State Church in India. With regard to the Navy, the Hindu and Moslem know quite well that even though their leaders, Maharajas and others, were to pay, as reported, £25,000,000 for a great Indian fleet, no higher position than that of a lascar is open to them in the British Navy. Of course, it will be argued that they are not fit for higher rank, but have they had a chance of qualifying themselves ? Hindus have more than once held the position of Advocate-General, and as such have commanded the confidence of Englishmen, but if Indians had been precluded from becoming Advocates, no Hindu could ever have been Advocate-General.

Canada may be willing to pay for a navy ; Australia also may perform her part. Yes, but supposing Canadians and Australians were told that all they were expected to do was to draw the cheque, and that their personal interest in the fleet was to be limited to serving as lascars, would they voluntarily contribute a five-pound note ? It would be like asking a man to treat others to a good dinner and at the same time intimating that he would not

be allowed to sit at the table. Under such circumstances would he—would you, or I, or anyone—feel an enthusiastic desire to foot the bill? The Canadians and Australians know that there is no racial bar to prevent them from holding positions of trust in the Canadian and Australian navies, and so they naturally look at their investment in quite a different light from that in which it is regarded by the native of India, be the latter a Maharaja or only a humble taxpayer. Even with the wide prospects open to her sons in the Imperial Navy Canada was not satisfied, but wanted a voice in England's foreign policy before parting with her cash for the Dreadnoughts.

Then consider the Army. The Hindu and Mahomedan have both been acknowledged by Lord Roberts, and others qualified to express an opinion, to be excellent fighting men. But common soldiers and officers are of course not the same thing, and every Indian native soldier is perfectly well aware that he cannot dream of becoming even a Lieutenant, though there is nothing to prevent the British private from rising to the rank of Officer or even to that of General.

The Indian knows that his share in the protection of the Empire is limited to providing £ s. d. and to serving as a common trooper or lascar. He may give his life in its defence, but the English officer will get the credit. Sometimes

no doubt, as in the case of the Sikh, he has received eulogies and even a memorial, but even the favourite Sikh has no chance of gaining even a lieutenancy. As things stand the Indian is not allowed a military training to qualify him to handle a regiment to defend his fatherland. There is therefore no room for gratifying his own ambition, either national or individual. "It is a Military question," remarked an Englishman to me the other day. Quite so, but as long as British statesmanship is unable to solve such Military questions so as to include the natives of India as real military comrades, British Delhi cannot make them forget Moghul Delhi. "Loyalty," a word that represents ideas of an intangible nature, has notions lying behind it in the British mind which seem impossible under the present conditions in the mind of the Indian races. Every British youth, when he enlists, "carries in his knapsack the Field-Marshal's baton," a prospect which, in the reign of Akbar, the great Moghul Emperor, also lay before the Indian youth of both the ruling and the subject race, the Moslem and Hindu. But under the British the Indian cannot dream of attaining even the rank of a Lieutenant. His notion of loyalty to the Delhi throne under Akbar was therefore different from his feeling for it under King George. Even the Hindu who compares British rule with Moghul rule heaves a sigh. Under the Moghul, though the Hindu was, as

now, under the British, the subject race, he could be Governor of a Province ; under the British rule no such distinction has fallen to his lot. No doubt very few received such honours under the Moghul, but even a single exception shows that there was no impediment. Delhi rule, Hindu or Moslem, has always been associated in the Indian mind with what may be called "Benevolent Despotism"—a despotism which allowed full scope for martial valour to all, regardless of difference in race or religion. Moghul Despotism may not have been "Benevolent" according to the Western conception, but the object of this paper is to invite attention to the meaning of words as seen through Indian psychology. Though the Government of India has also been termed "Benevolent Despotism," the main distinction between Moghul Delhi and British Delhi lies in the scope offered to the military ambition of the citizens of the Indian Empire. Under the Crescent the Hindu has been Commander of a Brigade ; under the Union Jack, even after a century, he sees no likelihood of rising as high as a little subaltern.

Take the case of the Imperial Service Troops—that Native Army of about 20,000 men which is maintained by the Indian Princes to assist in the defence of India. These Troops are available for immediate action on Indian battlefields, and Lord Curzon actually used them outside the Indian Empire. In their respective Native States they

are officered by native subjects of the particular Prince to whom they belong, but when they cross their own frontiers they are placed under British Officers. If they display valour, the credit goes to their English Officer, not to the Native Officer who has first trained them. The Native Princes and the Native Officers naturally feel this, and realize keenly the want of comradeship between the British and themselves. Valour and training go to make a soldier. The former is possessed by the martial races of India, but until they are given more opportunity to acquire the latter, they will naturally look back to Moghul Delhi, under which even the Hindu, then also a subject race, received it. Is it any wonder that for lack of enthusiasm the Imperial Service Troops have not made as much headway as they might have done under different conditions, since the project originated with the Nizam, the premier Indian Prince, in 1885 ? Of course, it will be argued that the native is not so good an Officer as the British, but considering that the Imperial Service Troops were organized twenty-eight years ago, there has surely been ample time, if British authorities had desired, to train him, not necessarily to become Commander in the field, but at any rate to hold even the rank of a Lieutenant when on active service. I do not forget the fact that at present most native Indian soldiers like to be led by Englishmen, because, among other reasons, the native has no

means of receiving the training which has created a reputation for Englishmen. I have spoken to many native Indian soldiers, and I have not yet found one who is not anxious to obtain a higher Military training, if only to fill up a temporary gap if his British leader is killed on the field of action. It has fallen to the lot of very rare exceptions among native soldiers to receive the Military training of Officers, as did the distinguished Hindu Major-General, Sir Pertab Singh, in the Tirah Campaign and the Mohmand Expedition; and the eminent Moslem soldier, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Afsar-ul-Mulk, now Commander of the Nizam's Army, in the Afghan War, the Black Mountain Expedition, and the China Expedition. Both these native soldiers received their higher military training as Officers of Hindu and Moslem States, and not of the British Native Army.

Then consider the inevitable psychological effect which the absence of their own Native Officers must entail upon these Troops when called upon to give their lives in Imperial defence. It has lately been seen in the case of Montenegro what martial valour the soldiers of that little kingdom (much smaller than many of those of the leading Indian Princes) displayed when they knew their own King was present with them in the field. Suppose Servia had said to King Nicholas: "No, you pay the bill, and our Officers shall command your army

against Turkey." Would their patriotism and loyalty have been so passionately proved?

How far, then, would the Native Princes be interested in contributing £25,000,000 for a fleet for India? Can their sons look forward to becoming Officers of that fleet? Can they think of their boys being admitted to Osborne to be trained as naval cadets? What scope is there for their ambition when even the most loyal Princes, like the Nizam of Hyderabad and Maharaja of Gwalior, know that the highest position open to their subjects in the British Navy is that of a lascar? When their Officers have helped in training the Imperial Service Troops, have those Officers received any tangible reward for their services? The Maharaja Sindhia voluntarily went with his own ship and his own men, at his own expense, to Chinese waters during the Boxer Rebellion. The Maharaja no doubt received special honours, but have the Native Officers of his Highness' army any reason to thank the British Government for practical recognition of their Ruler's warm-hearted support, by opening up to them special future prospects in their military career? Such recognition would have impelled the Rulers of other States to try and emulate Gwalior. The psychological effect on the Indian martial races of conferring British honours on the Princes themselves, is not the same as if special Military privileges were granted to their Native Officers,

and the difference is well worth the study of British statesmen.

There is another thing, too, a matter of sentiment and an important matter, which tends to chill Indian enthusiasm in Imperial defence. If the native Indian Navy came into existence, what flag would it fly ? Canada has a flag, Australia has a flag, South Africa has a flag, many West Indian islands have flags ; but British statesmen have been too busy to give the Indian Empire a flag ! The first thing necessary to rouse Indian sentiment is to give India a flag of her own. Till then, she cannot be expected to put her hands deep into her pockets for a great Indian Navy.

This is no idle supposition. The want of a flag has been a pain and humiliation to the Indian native soldier. When Indian troops went to Chinese waters, at the time of the Boxer Rising, all the great Powers of the world were represented there. The Japanese soldier, not then a member of the renowned Japanese Army of to-day, the Indian sepoy, the Russian, the German, the French, and troops of other nationalities, mixed freely with each other, for they were all gathered together for the same purpose, to suppress the Chinese Rebellion. “ Under which flag are you fighting ?” was the question everyone asked his neighbour. But the proud sepoy bent low his head, for he had *no flag of his country*. Each had *his own country’s flag*, all but the Indian !

The others chaffed him, and he went back to India with the memory of their banter deep in his heart. Twelve long years have passed since then, tons of paper have been used in discussing Imperialism, and still India is without a flag! Not only is she without a flag, but beyond a short letter in the columns of the *Times*, written by Lord Ampthill about three years ago, the subject has never been taken up in earnest. The Indian soldier fights, of course, under the British flag, but the Union Jack has not been considered sufficient for the patriotic enthusiasm of the Canadian or the Australian, who are allied in race, creed, and language to the British themselves. Why, then, should there not be an additional flag for India also, to rouse the enthusiasm of the Hindu and Moslem soldier, who differ from the British in all these three cementing factors?

These are some of the reasons why the British have failed to elicit in India the warm sentiment of loyalty which alone could help England in her hour of need. The Native States and the Native Army are admittedly the pillars on which the British Indian Empire rests. As regards the importance of the native soldiers, Sir John Seely and other eminent authorities have pointed out that the nations of India have been conquered by an army of which, on the average, only about a fifth were English. So of the sword that conquered India only one-fifth was British metal.

Is the policy pursued with regard to Native Princes and native soldiers likely to increase their affection for the British? Or does it tend rather to arouse unpopularity among classes which form the bulwark against foreign invasion? The British administration in India is based on the domination of the British, not on comradeship with the native, and until comradeship is established, such as prevailed in the days of Akbar, there can be little enthusiastically loyal defence of India.

Material advantages set forth in dry statistics have never made a nation enthusiastically loyal to the Government, whereas a sense of true fellowship has succeeded in so doing. The Royalists knew quite well the imperfections of the administration of Charles I., and yet followed the House of Stuart into exile; the Americans are aware of the scandals in their Government, but because they enjoy the comradeship of men in power, and have equal rights in regulating the destinies of their country, they would sacrifice their last dollar in its defence. That sense of comradeship is felt by the Indian to be lacking under British rule. How the things have changed which affect his sentiment, he reflects, since Delhi was the Capital of the great Moghul Empire!

To the Hindu the sentiment evoked by the memory of Delhi may be more mixed in character, since the glories of the Hindu

Emperors of Delhi lie far back in the dimness of the past, while those of the Moslem stand embodied in brick and mortar as living and energizing Indian Imperialism, both for the Moslem and the Hindu millions. Even the Hindu can think with pride that here, near the Moghul Emperor, sat the Hindu General, and there, near the Moslem Ruler, was the place of the Hindu Governor. To the native mind, Moslem or Hindu, the Delhi Imperialism of the Moghul is by no means an unintelligible abstraction ; it is nothing nebulous in the womb of the past, but a concrete instance of Imperial comradeship. The native of India has had centuries to meditate over these two important factors in Imperialism, and so the grandeur of Moghul Delhi has sunk deep into the Indian heart, and to the native mind the Imperialism of Moghul Delhi has a living meaning. Akbar anticipated Mazzini by over two centuries, for the great Moghul Emperor knew that "soldiers do not fight well unless they have ideas at the point of their bayonet." His thought, too, coincided with that of Bacon, who, in 1612—seven years after Akbar's death—wrote : "To take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs." The idea at the point of the bayonet and the spur at the heel of the Moslem and Hindu soldiers of Moghul Delhi was citizenship of the Moghul Empire, and the prospect of being Commander of a Brigade.

Moghul Delhi gave scope for laudable Military ambition ; British Delhi does not. Hence the Indian is lukewarm in assimilating British ideas of defence of an Empire in which he can take no real part. The associations and traditions of Moghul Delhi have been forcibly recalled to the Indian martial races by recent events in connection with the transfer of the Capital, but, alas ! only to make him sigh for the post of Panj Hazari Sipah Salar (Commander of 5,000 troops), which the Moghul Emperor invited even the Hindu to hold. In Moghul days such honours were indeed few and far between, but the mere fact of any receiving them shows that no difference was made between the ruling and the subject races. The mysterious force of the Indian native soldier's sigh modifies the Indian view of Imperialism, and unless British statesmanship can soon rise to such a height that the Indian, *forgetting to look back to Moghul Delhi with regretful pride, can look forward to British Delhi with ambitious eyes*, Imperialism for him will continue to be a mere name. In Akbar's day, when the Moslem and Hindu cried, " Mubarak Padshah," or " God bless the Emperor !" they really meant all that the Englishman feels as, over his glass of wine, he gives the toast, " The King, God bless him !" But now, when, in the share of the defence of his country, the Indian is only a trooper and a lascar, never anything more,

how can his loyalty help being proportionately diluted?

Unless the dominant thoughts, desires, and passions of the Indian people are all included in the word "loyalty," as is the case with Englishmen, the sentiments of the people, though expressed by the same word, will be different, and the gulf between the sentiments will create a corresponding difference in results, whether those results be of action or inaction. It is the *human element* that counts most in Imperialism, far more than the dry bones of political economy, and especially so in India, where only about 6 per cent. of the native population, or, roughly, 19 millions out of the 315 millions, are literate. The complexities of the sale and purchase of goods under the laws of Free Trade or Protection are not such potent factors in the hands of the Imperialist as the harmonious handling of the citizens. Most people can pass their lives with never a thought of the forces of political economy, but can they live a day without coming into contact with the forces of psychology? There are racial ways of looking at things, and as every human action is preceded by a thought, it is as well to know the thought of the Indian millions. The people's thought is the key to their conduct. The credit of Germany's greatness is generally given only to Bismarck, but the deep thinker would hesitate to deprive Kant of his share of credit for her progress.

The native Indian Navy boom should not be allowed to form a mere episode in the literature of the defence of the Empire. It should impel the British Government to consider the psychological forces whose working would have been necessary to prompt such an offer ; it should urge England to consider what are the stable elements in the Indian nature, whether British Imperialism is built on them, and if not, whether it could stand a sudden shock without serious damage. At present, as the higher-class natives of India, both Moslem and Hindu, have so little scope for the display of military valour and the winning of laurels, it is not likely that Indian Princes would have seriously thought of finding £25,000,000 for an Indian fleet. When the British statesman has devised means to enable the native of India to realize by personal feeling the meaning to Englishmen of "loyalty," the British Empire will reap the result in a steady growth of enthusiastic allegiance ; but till that day, anyone who knows Indian sentiment, is well aware that an Indian Navy costing £25,000,000 is a midsummer night's dream.

There is a point on which I should like to linger a little further—*i.e.*, the psychological effect of the transfer of the British Indian Capital from Calcutta to Delhi. Let us think for a while what Delhi means to the Indian. The Indian mind, perhaps greatly owing to climatic conditions, is possibly a more delicate

mechanism than the human mind in cold countries—a sensitive plate which receives impressions vividly and retains them long. Moreover, the older the tradition the greater its force, and no Capital in the world can beat Delhi in hoary tradition. At Delhi (*vide* Chapter I.) the Hindu was discussing Imperialism while the glory of ancient Greece waxed and waned, and while Imperial Rome passed from her cradle to the grave ; from Moslem Delhi Indians saw their Empire handed over to its new lord, England. The ancient Greek and Roman traditions are still a force to-day to mould the thought of modern Europe among foreign peoples whose ancestors never trod the soil of Greece or Rome. How great, then, must be the power of the traditions of Delhi to move the mind of the Indian, both Moslem and Hindu, in whose veins flows the blood of those forefathers of his race who for centuries lived and ruled the destinies of India in that city of splendour !

To be able thoroughly to understand the present mental mechanism of an individual or a nation one must very carefully study the past, for events have proved over and over again that the past can never be quite shaken off. Just as the mystic mentality of Robespierre did not die with him, so the mystic mentality of the Emperors of Delhi, both Moslem and Hindu, has left its mark upon the natives of India. We know from history how India converted her

Moslem Emperors to Hindu ways of thought ; we know that at first Moslems tried to reason against it, but failed to live a detached life in India. Our past is always within us, and the force of national past is irresistible. The pronounced atheist, Bradlaugh, was a gentleman in spite of his atheism, as a result of the eighteen centuries of Christianity which preceded him.

The mind of every nation is conservative, and the older the nation the more tenaciously it clings to the past. So Delhi, so rich in tradition, still lives to-day as a factor not to be neglected in Indian thought and feeling. Delhi has a mighty hold even upon the minds of Indians who have never visited it. Mr. Meredith Townsend, in his "Asia and Europe," wrote : "An old Hindu scholar, definitely and openly on the English side, actually cried with rage and pain, in the writer's presence, over a report that Delhi was to be razed. He had never seen Delhi, but to him it was '*our* beautiful city, such a possession of *our* country.'" It is significant that during the Indian Mutiny both the Moslem and Hindu sepoy fought for the mere shadow of the Moslem King of Delhi, and not for any of the powerful Indian Princes.

The mystic side of the human mind loves a fetish. It may be only a doctrine like that of reincarnation, preached by scores of men, or it may be the cult of individuals like Shakespeare,

Dante, Hafiz, or Kalidas. It is doubtful, indeed, if a nation has ever lived for any length of time without some such object of devotion. Delhi has been a fetish to the Indian for more centuries than European history can count. Moreover, the pedagogue in the Indian bazaars, speaking in turgid sentences, carefully using catch-phrases which have a peculiar collective sentimental ring about them, has kept Delhi alive in Indian hearts.

What vivid memories the recent events at this city of Imperial traditions have recalled to the Indian mind ! What pictures they have conjured up to both Hindu and Moslem ! Who shall say what psychological forces, what waves of collective sentiment, the transfer of the Capital has brought into play—forces that have far greater power to move the people than any cold calculations of political economy or printed pages of Blue Books ! Think for a little of the real meaning of psychological forces : are they different to economic forces, or does the psychology of a nation represent the sum total of economic forces and of geographic and historic forces as well ? Can any man remain unaffected by them, especially if, as in the case of the Hindu, their waves have beaten upon his ancestors from before the birth of Imperial Rome ? Who is to restrain the collective mind of a country ? No material agent is strong enough. Once psychological forces are set in motion, either purposely or un-

wittingly, their power can only be retarded or regulated, but never altogether checked.

With the transfer of the Capital to Delhi, the British statesman has a harder task before him than he had when Calcutta was the chief seat of Government. Let us compare Calcutta and Delhi from the psychological point of view. Deep students of character know that dwellers by the sea are more cosmopolitan than those who live far inland, as will be seen if we compare the character of the peoples of Athens, Carthage, and England with that of the natives of the centre of Europe. Psychologists hold that it is not so dangerous to play with the sentiment of people living near the sea, since coming every day in contact with new varieties of people and of thought, they have no time to brood continually over sentimental grievances, which are therefore not so serious to them as to the man who lives a thousand miles inland under different conditions and surroundings. The British settled at the Calcutta Capital after defeating its Moslem Ruler at Plassey, whereas Lord Hardinge, no doubt with the best of motives, removed the Capital to Delhi for the sake of doing something impressive.

So for these reasons, and particularly because, as I have shown, Delhi is the greatest depository of Indian political sentiment, it is a place where it is very easy for the British to wound the feelings of the native, and to revive in his mind

memories which cannot but impair Imperial consolidation. The chief factor in human happiness is sentiment. By paying proper regard to it a father can retain the love of his family even if he is unable to give his wife and children two square meals a day. So with the statesman, especially when he is dealing with subjects foreign in religion, language, and tradition. If he knows how to handle the sentiment of the subject race, he consolidates his Empire, while if he misunderstands and misuses the forces of sentiment, it is only logical to think that he is doing worse than if he had not touched sentiment at all, for the slightest error in handling this most dangerous weapon may lead to an explosion with effects reaching farther than the bursting of a powder magazine.

Is it a mere coincidence that, after making Delhi the Capital, two things have happened which are practically unprecedented under British rule in India? First, the largest reward ever offered by the British Government in India for the detection of a diabolical crime has failed to discover the perpetrator of the Delhi outrage. It would have been simply impossible for a miscreant to throw a bomb at any of the Indian Princes, Moslem or Hindu, without being lynched on the spot, in which event there would have been no necessity for any reward, except, perhaps, for his fragments. But in the case of the dastardly attack upon the life of the Viceroy,

even the offer of a sum of extraordinary magnitude has availed nothing during six months to find the culprit. The study of stern realities, however distasteful, is the first duty of a statesman. Have the responsible authorities carefully considered whether a sudden acceleration of collective sentiment, aroused by the establishment of the British Capital at Delhi, could have in any way contributed to shield the bomb-thrower? The invisible psychological forces set in motion by the transfer of the Capital might perhaps be studied to help in interpreting the circumstances which have enabled the author of the bomb-attempt to defy British administrative talent to unravel the mystery behind it.

A second notable event which has occurred since the transfer of the Capital is that the Moslem League has *openly* joined hands with the National Congress. The following quotation from the *Times* of May 24 of this year needs no comment at my hands : "The more advanced Mahomedans are developing new tactics which require to be duly noted. The Indian National Congress, which is mainly a Hindu organization, is declining in influence owing to the greater power of the reformed Legislative Councils ; but the Mahomedans have, oddly enough, selected the moment of eclipse to formulate new and unexpected expressions of unity with the Congress and its aims. The All-India Moslem League has passed resolutions in favour of 'a system of self-

government suitable to India,' and Moslem speakers have declared *that the Congress and the League now occupy a common platform.*" (The italics are mine.) Collective sentiment in India, notwithstanding the National Congress and the Moslem League, had been in a very fluid state. Is it possible that as soon as Delhi, the great storehouse of national sentiment, was touched, it solidified, with the result that in a few months the Moslem League startled the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy with the announcement that the Moslem politician had joined hands with the Hindu ? But whether or no this be a mere coincidence, it shows, at any rate, that in relation to the British in India the political attitude of the Moslem and the Hindu is the same, a fact which I pointed out to the British public in a paper written some four years ago, and which is reprinted in the following Chapter.

The motives for political action on the part of the Hindu and the Indian Mahomedan have been the same for centuries, and to break with the past is not easy, even if it were considered desirable by some interested agitators, for the connecting links are the collective sentiment of Moslem-Hindu Delhi, a much stronger factor than £ s. d. or any rational logic that may be put forward. Alterations in the names of heads of administrations, such as "Governor of Bengal" for "Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal," or changing the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi, cannot

transform the soul of the people. The Delhi Capital has brought vividly before the Moslem and Hindu the shades of Akbar and Abul Fazl, Man Singh and Todar Mall—names which have for centuries been household words alike with Moslems and Hindus. Native India goes crazy over such names. What power can cut it off from the influence of these memories ? Can any English name conjure up such feelings of affection in the Indian mind as these four Moslem and Hindu names ?

Were the British authorities prepared for this sudden aggregation of Moslem-Hindu sentiment ? Was it not only three years ago that Lords Morley and Minto meted out a preferential treatment to the Moslems under their electoral scheme ? This aggregation of Moslem-Hindu sentiment must in the natural course of things percolate from the leaders to the people. How are the British authorities to adjust the political balance now, when the Moslem League joins hands with the National Congress ? Under the great Moghul Emperor, Akbar, there existed mental fusion, comradeship, and co-operation between the Moslem and Hindu. Delhi stands for the unification of Moslem and Hindu sentiments ; Delhi to the Indian mind is the unconscious force of such unification. Delhi is therefore a powerful engine with tremendous propelling power for good or evil, according to the statesmanship that may be brought to bear on the

fixity of the collective mind of the natives of Delhi, both Moslem and Hindu. Unless the British authorities make a special study of the psychology of the natives of India, they will find British Delhi gradually leading to a Moslem-Hindu *entente cordiale* possibly powerful enough to make the new Capital an inconvenient centre for the dominant race in India, unless the old Roman motto, *divide et impera*, is no longer to regulate Indian administrative policy. I myself believe that loyal India is a source of strength to England only when politically homogeneous, and that a disunited though loyal India would mean weakness in times of foreign attack. Therefore, apart from ethics, political expediency will one day, I hope, make the British statesman see clearly that in his world-wide Imperialism the policy of a united India will pay better than "divide and rule," which has had a fairly long trial in my country. The decision regarding Delhi was hastily taken ; its consequences can only be averted by making a thorough study of Indian psychology, and thereby gaining the power to divert its forces into useful channels. The task is not easy, but with Indian co-operation it should not be beyond the scope of British statesmanship.

"Mystic logic," as it may be termed in contradistinction to rational logic, is seldom quite absent from human reasoning, for there is something in the human mind on which the mystic

exercises a strange attraction. Moreover, the older the race the more mystic must its reasoning appear to the younger, and as it happens that younger nations are generally called upon to set the houses of older peoples in order, the greater the necessity for trying to comprehend and adjust the differences in the psychology of the two. To understand Indian psychology, foreign administrators should be very careful to distinguish between the force of intelligence modified by Western culture and that of character based on Oriental tradition. If they have given a thought to these two different elements in human personality, they will find that, with all nations of the world, intelligence has always to take a back seat when it is in conflict with the past national traditions to which character is due. British authorities might remember, too, that among the masses in every country, and especially in India, cold reason is seldom primarily responsible for beliefs. Leaders of movements may talk reason and rational logic on public platforms, but the genesis of their action is usually collective sentiment and mystic logic. Reason, indeed, has often been used both in Europe and Asia to support national impulses instead of to restrain them, to justify the dictates of sentiment instead of to analyze them, as passion, though seldom the creator of convictions, is frequently their supporter.

Delhi for centuries has symbolized Moslem-

Hindu collective sentiment. For a time, perhaps, collective sentiment may lie idle, but abnormal conditions call forth dormant and different mentality, varying from that which exists under ordinary circumstances, so that from the psychological point of view one man may become in turn two or three different men. Thus it has been with regard to the native of Delhi. Before his city was made the British Capital his mentality differed from what it now is, and his present mentality renders him a more complicated force to be reckoned with. A strong government can cope easily with the force of individual sentiment, but to restrain the collective sentiment of millions is a different matter, and therefore any *sudden* acceleration of national sentiment by a foreign Ruler is not a wise step in statesmanship. A psychological blunder is likely to have even graver consequences than errors in political economy. Let the careful reader study Indian history, and if he can adjust his mental vision so as to embrace its whole field, he will see, whether his logic be inductive or deductive, that the overthrow of dynasty after dynasty of Moslem rulers in India was due not to errors in questions of political economy, but to psychological blunders of Moslem statesmen. The statesman who loses sight of the inevitable tendency of human nature to cherish sentiment even more than present material progress will not further the cause of Imperialism,

with all his political economy and his good intentions.

Since Delhi as the British Capital will be a constantly exciting cause for the acceleration of the collective sentiment alike of Moslems and Hindus, the question is how to make British administrative machinery equal to the task of meeting any sudden great pressure. Reform of administrative machinery must regulate its pace according to the adjustment of the national mind upon which it works ; it must not go too far ahead. It cannot suddenly adapt itself to habits which are the result of centuries' growth, nor can the soul of an ancient people like the Hindus be changed in a hurry to fit the new machinery. Behind the Hindus stretch five thousand years or more of one kind of culture ; behind the British lie two thousand years of another kind of mental training. It cannot but be difficult to prevent their mentalities from clashing when they suddenly meet, and very hard indeed to make them blend together quickly. The introduction of Western political doctrines into the Indian mind is not so easy as may appear to the casual observer. One thing the Western student of Indian psychology should not fail to note is how religion has affected political beliefs in India ; the Indian mind is encrusted with religion. He should remember, too, that an English political doctrine has to be translated to the Indian through words,

and even when the words used by the English politician are English, they really do not convey the same meaning to the Indian ear. The careful student of history knows that according to their respective mentality words are differently interpreted even by neighbours and kinsmen. One has not to go far for an illustration. See the difference in the meanings of only two words, "loyalty" and "patriotism." Do the English Conservative and the Irish Nationalist agree as to their interpretation? How many British statesmen ever pause to think of the vast gulf that exists in the British and the Indian mind as regards the meaning of these two words, and how much trouble has resulted from taking for granted that because the English and the Indian politicians use the same words in their speeches, they express an identical idea?

If words relating to established political doctrines do not convey fixed ideas even to Englishmen and Irishmen at home, how much more difficult it is when, as between the British and the Indian, there is neither tradition, language, nor religion in common! The words used in the adaptation of Western doctrines mean, naturally, one thing to the speaker and another to the Indian audience—nay, they may mean something quite different to two speakers, British and Indian, on the same platform.

Delhi represents the amalgamation of Moslem-Hindu political ideals, and time alone can show

whether a non-Asiatic political ideal will ever wholly supplant them. I do not believe it ever will. But the secret key to successful administration may lie not in attempts to persuade the people to adopt a brand-new ideal, but in helping them to synthetize the past, with very gradual modifications, as their ideal for the future. To adjust British Delhi to Moghul Delhi is no easy matter. Remove the traditions of Moghul Delhi, and there is the risk of making the new Capital lifeless and of no practical value for Indian Imperial sentiment. The task that lies before the British statesman is to find means and ways *whereby in Indian eyes the present may equal and even outshine the glories of the past.* It is hard for an Englishman to understand the complicated psychological forces which Delhi exercises on the Indian mind. To do so, even a native of India must be a thorough master of Hindustani, so as to balance Moslem popular ideas against Hindu beliefs, to watch the blending of Hindu Aryan influences with Moslem Semitic passions, a long process which reached its zenith in the Moslem-Hindu *entente* in the sixteenth century, during the reign of Akbar. But whether the question be approached by the analytic or synthetic method, there can be only one true estimate of the native sentiment towards Delhi. Should the native of India be left to dwell on the glories of Moghul Delhi as compared with British Delhi, British statesmen may

find that their well-meant action in transferring the Capital has produced the reverse of the result they intended.

The force of a new idea may take time to make itself felt, but the revival of an old and cherished idea is difficult to combat—a truth which has more than once made itself felt in European history. Take, for instance, the proposition put forth by Locke, that “all men are equal.” Implanted by Rousseau in the French mind, this catch-phrase was probably more responsible for the French Revolution than class privilege or heavy taxation. It should be England’s care to see that no catch-phrase of Moghul Delhi may revive memories detrimental to British prestige. The mutual action and reaction due to the psychological currents set in motion round Moghul and British Delhi constitute momentous forces which will count greatly in future Imperialism. Will England, I wonder, in the near future produce another Disraeli with imagination to enter into the thoughts and aspirations of native India and skill to intertwine these with the interests of Imperial Britain ?

In transferring the Capital to the old centre of Indian Imperialism England has in a flash aroused memories to a degree that thousands of demagogues and agitators could not have done in a century. Was it wise to awaken ambitions and sentiments if they cannot be gratified ? It should now be England’s policy to make the hundreds

of millions of her Indian subjects feel that they are not hopelessly sunk beneath, but living up to, the traditions of their distinguished past as represented by Delhi, otherwise they may weigh Britain in the balance and find her wanting. Would it not be a dangerous experiment for a man to take up his abode with his wife in a house where she had lived prosperously with a former husband, where every room, every detail of the furniture, would speak to her in a hundred voices of the past ? Or what would be thought of a man who every morning at the breakfast table insisted on his wife reading over the love-letters which her first husband penned to her in their happy courtship days ? Could he reasonably expect her to turn a smiling face towards him ? Something similar is the risk that England has unwittingly taken in her new Indian Capital.

I have tried to give the British reader the psychological truth about Delhi in a nutshell. Whether the British Press and the British public will take it as such remains to be seen. I am glad, however, to be able to assure the reader that the contents of this Chapter will be new even to those who have carefully digested every word in the Parliamentary Debates and the Blue Book on the Delhi Capital. Even some of my esteemed Qui-Hi friends—to use the pet name for the veteran English officers in India, whose own old appellation of “Anglo-Indian” has been appropriated by others without their consent—

will, I think, find food for reflection here ; and I hope my countrymen will see that, during my eight years' absence from my motherland, I have not only kept in touch with Indian sentiment, but am perhaps in a better position than before to interpret the forces of that sentiment to the British public, to the mutual advantage of England and India.

CHAPTER XI

MOSLEM-HINDU ENTENTE CORDIALE

LORD MORLEY's Indian reforms have attracted a great deal of attention, on the part of English people, to the Mahomedans in India. Those who are responsible for the good government of India, as well as those who only take an academical interest in it, should have plain facts placed before them, and should not be led away by catch-words and the elastic phraseology of agitators and wire-pullers, who, even with the best of motives, often forget, in the heat of controversy, how far heredity and associations influence religious and racial characteristics. It can be shown by quotations from Indian history that, however different the Turk or the Central Asian Mahomedan may be from the Hindu, the Indian Mahomedan, after centuries of residence in India, has been Hinduized by the laws of heredity and the influence of environment.

The bluest of blue blood of the Indian Mahomedan is rarely free from Hindu blood.

* This paper appeared first in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and was circulated by the author gratis in pamphlet form in July, 1910.

The majority of Indian Mahomedans are the descendants of Hindu converts, some of whom to this day, though professing Islam, observe more or less Hindu rites and customs. In one word, the tradition of the Indian Mahomedan is to no small extent Hindu. Carlyle truly says : "What an enormous *camera obscura* magnifier is tradition ! How a thing grows in the human memory, in the human imagination, when love, worship, and all that lies in the human heart, is there to encourage it; and in the darkness, in the entire ignorance, without date or document, no book, no Arundel marble, only here and there some dull monumental cairn !"

A glance at the history of India will show that Hindu blood runs in the veins not only of most of the middle and lower class Indian Mahomedans, but is also to be found in such of the highest of the Mahomedan aristocracy as are descendants of the Moghul Emperors of Delhi. The great Moghul Emperor Akbar was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth. In Akbar's seraglio there were several Hindu ladies who occupied in it a position as high as that of the Moslem ladies. His principal consort was not a Mahomedan lady, but a Hindu Princess, who was the daughter of Raja Bihari Mall. Her son was the Moghul Emperor, Jahangir, who sat on the Delhi throne from 1605 to 1627, as the son and successor of the great Akbar. Emperor Jahangir also married a Hindu Princess, named Balmati,

the daughter of Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur. Her son was Emperor Shah Jahan, who reigned from 1628 to 1658. Shah Jahan's son, Aurangzeb, though by no means pro Hindu, married a Rajput Princess. Her son, Emperor Bahadur Shah I., succeeded Aurangzeb, and reigned from 1707 to 1712. Then we come to Emperor Ahmad Shah, who reigned from 1748 to 1754. His mother was the well-known Hindu Princess Udhama Bai. The Kudsia Bagh at Delhi was named after her, for, as the Empress of India, she was called Kudsia Begum. In 1754 Bahadur Shah was succeeded by Alamgir II., who was the son of Emperor Jahandar Shah by a Hindu lady named Anup Bai. Alamgir II. reigned from 1754 to 1759.

Now we come to the last King of Delhi. Bahadur Shah II. was by a Hindu mother named Lall Bai. He succeeded to the Delhi throne in 1837, and was removed to Rangoon for complicity in the Indian Mutiny of 1857. So it will be seen that since 1605 no less than six Moghul Emperors of Delhi—viz., (1) Jahangir, (2) Shah Jahan, (3) Bahadur Shah I., (4) Ahmad Shah, (5) Alamgir II., and (6) Bahadur Shah II.—out of a total of twelve, have been by Hindu mothers. In other words, half the number of the Delhi Emperors of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries have been sons of Hindu women. Some of the daughters of these Hindu ladies—wives of Moslem Emperors and nobles—

were married to the Mahomedan aristocracy of India. These were by no means solitary cases of Moslem-Hindu marriages among the Indian aristocracy. A few more instances may be quoted to show that such alliances were in vogue for centuries, and that these inter-alliances helped in cementing Moslem-Hindu friendship to an extent of which the superficial student of Indian history cannot possibly form an idea. Malika Jahan (the Queen of the Universe), another wife of the Emperor Jahangir, was a Hindu lady, the daughter of Rawal Bhim of Jasalmir. Muazzim, better known as Bahadur Shah I., son of Emperor Aurangzeb, married Raja Rup Singh's daughter. Naila, the daughter of the Raja of Bhatner, was married to Salar Rajab, brother of Sultan Ghyasuddin Tughlak. Her son, Firoz Shah, succeeded to the throne of Delhi in 1351.

It is also an established historical fact that some of the Hindu ladies who were wives of Moslem Emperors observed all the rites of the Hindu religion. Some of them had their own Hindu temples inside Moslem palaces. "Virtues of mothers shall occasionally be visited on their children," says Dickens. The instructions received at the mother's knee are never effaced entirely from the soul. Emerson's well-known saying, "Men are what their mothers made them," is abundantly proved in the pages of Indian history. The *entente cordiale* that existed for centuries between the Mahomedans and Hindus in India

was no doubt greatly due to the influence of the Hindu mothers of the Moslem Emperors and Chiefs in India. High-sounding Moslem titles often conceal a Hindu origin. For instance, Jalal-ud-din, the ruler of Bengal in the fourteenth century, was simply a Moslem convert, without a drop of Moslem blood in his veins, his father being Raja Kans Purbi. Jalal-ud-din's original Hindu name was Jit Mall.

It is therefore clear that the so-called Moslem aristocracy of India is really Hindu-Moslem by tie of blood as well as by association. Every careful student of Indian history knows that the Hindu held, and still can hold, much higher positions under Moslem Government in India than he does under the Government of India. The highest positions occupied by Hindus under the British Government are as Members of the Council of India and of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In the Viceroy's Executive Council a Hindu was one of the six members, and in the India Council a Hindu is one of fifteen members; whereas under the Nizams of Hyderabad, the premier Mahomedan Native State in India, several Hindus held the much-coveted post of Prime Minister. In other words, the Mahomedan Prince conferred the highest appointment on Hindu subjects in preference to Mahomedan subjects, his co-religionists.

Under the Moghul Emperors and Moslem Princes, whether in the Military Service or in

the Civil Service, Hindus held much higher positions than they do under the British Government. Maharaja Chandu Lall was for the first half of the nineteenth century Prime Minister to the Nizam. He so commanded the confidence of his royal Moslem master that he was authorized to sign every document. In Hoondi transactions throughout India to this day the Nizam's capital is called "Chandu Lall Ka Hyderabad," or Chandu Lall's Hyderabad. Mahomedan magnates have been proud to be known as Rajas—a purely Hindu title. As early as 1370, Malik Faruqi, Governor of Khandesh, called himself Malik Raja when he assumed independence in that Province. The Oudh Baron, Tasadduk Rasul Khan, is, to this day, called a Raja in preference to the Mahomedan title of Nawab (Nabob). His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, when he raised his orthodox Hindu photographer, Lala Deen Dayal, to the peerage of Hyderabad, gave him the Moslem title of Masawar Jang. Todar Mall, a Hindu, was Akbar's Finance Minister. Man Singh, another Hindu, was, under Akbar, not only Governor of Bengal, but was also Governor of Moslem Kabul. No native of India has yet held such high positions under the British Government. In 1906 Sir Krishna Gupta (now a Member of the India Council), after thirty-two years of admittedly good work in the Indian Civil Service, was by seniority entitled to the officiat-

ing appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He was, however, passed over in favour of one of the ruling race without any reason being assigned.

The high positions which the Hindu occupied in the Military Department under the Moghul Government are quite beyond his dreams under the British Government. Under the British Government, no native of India, whatever his military talents and qualifications may be, can ever rise to the rank even of a Lieutenant. The Hindu soldiers, therefore, naturally sigh for the days of the Moghul Emperors, when it would have been possible for a Hindu soldier to become a Commander. To give only a few instances : Raja Bijai Mall was in the military service of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah. Supkaran Bundela, the Rajput, was an Officer in charge of 2,500 troops in the service of Emperor Alamgir. His son, Dalpat Rai, succeeded him in Military Command. Rai Singh held the rank of Panj Hazari, or Officer in charge of 5,000 troops, under Jahangir. Raja Bihari Mall and Raja Bhagwan Das held high ranks in the Delhi Imperial Army. Man Khan, the brother of Udhram Bai, the mother of Emperor Ahmad Shah, was raised to the rank of Commander in charge of 6,000 troops (Shash Hazari), with the title of Motaqid-ud-Daulah. Was not therefore the Moghul Government really a Moghul-Hindu Government ? It was more Hindu in its composition than the British

Indian Government to-day. It is clear that for centuries Moslem statesmen have regarded Hindus as faithful guardians of Moslem interests. Would they have trusted the Hindu to such an extent if the interests of the Hindu were really opposed to those of the Indian Moslems? Surely the Moghul rulers of India were as anxious to safeguard Moslem interests as the three-year-old Association the "All India Moslem League."

In literary circles the Moslem-Hindu *entente cordiale* was more noticeable. Ranchor Das was invited by his Moslem colleagues to give them a work on the art of writing Persian prose and poetry. The Daqaiq-ul-Insha, written in 1732, was accepted by Mahomedans as a safe guide to the art for over a century. The Sanskrit work Prabodh Chandrodaya was translated into Persian by Swami Bhopat Rai. Gulshan Ajaib, by Ram Singh, written in 1716, is as popular to-day as it was in the last century. Tansukh Rai's Safinat-ush-Shauq, written in 1756, is to this day popular among upper Indian Mahomedans. Pran Sukh's Persian letter-writer is well known as Insha Rahat Jat, written in 1750. Rai Gobind's Tuhfatul Kulub, written in 1652, is much admired by Mahomedans. Pundit Chandar Bhan was the author of several Persian works. The best known of his works are Guldasta, Tuhfat-ul-Anwar, and Char Chaman. He was the Private Secretary to Prince Dara Shikoh, son of the Emperor Shah

Jahan. Hindu writers and poets were great favourites in Moslem Courts. Occasionally, a Hindu poetess became the central figure in Moslem literary circles. Rupmati, the Hindu poetess at the Court of Malik Baiazid (better known as Baz Bahadur) who ruled Malwa in 1554, is well known. Songs coupling her name with that of Baz Bahadur have been handed down to posterity, and are sung by both Moslems and Hindus to this day. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati are both buried in the centre of the tank at Ujjain.

Hindu ladies have been the theme of distinguished Moslem poets. What is more, in actual life they have supplied themes for Moslem writers of romance. Kula Devi, the beautiful wife of Raja Rai Karan of Gujarat, was taken captive by King Alauddin Khilji in 1297. He married her. Her daughter, Dewal Devi, married Prince Khizr Khan. The love of this royal pair has been immortalized by Amir Khusru, the Prince of Delhi's Moslem poets, in his *Ishkia*. Husain of Ghazni, in his Persian work, has recorded the romantic career of the Hindu Princess Padmavati — how she was forcibly carried away by the Raja of Chitor, and taken from him similarly by King Alauddin in 1303.

The Hindu conversion of the ancestors of the Mahomedans commenced half a century before the birth of the Prophet of Arabia. Naushirvan, the famous Persian King, in A.D. 560, or about

ten years before the birth of the Founder of Islam, sent a literary mission to India. We all know that the Founder of Islam did not preach his doctrines before his fortieth year. The mission was very successful in Hindu India. Among other works which the Persian mission secured was the Sanskrit Pancha Tantra. This was translated into Pahlavi, from Pahlavi into Syriac, and under the direction of the Abbasid Khalifs into Arabic by the famous Ibn-ul-Mokaffa in A.D. 750. From the Arabic the father of Persian poetry—Rudaki—put it into Persian verse. A later Persian translation is known as Kalilah-u-Damnah. It was revised again in Persia in the fifteenth century, and the polished version is now known as the Anwari-Suheli (the Lights of Canopus). Under Akbar's command, his able Minister, Abul Fazl, carefully went through the various Moslem editions of the Hindu Pancha Tantra, and published a new edition, called Ayar Dānish or "Touchstone of Knowledge," for India. It is widely read by both Hindus and Mahomedans of Upper India. The Mahomedan adaptation of the Hindu work and its re-introduction among Hindus have helped to make the Hindu and the Mahomedan understand the psychology of one another's minds more than any abstract lectures on the subject could do.

Akbar, the Charlemagne of India, promoted effectively the principles of co-operation between

the Hindu and the Mahomedan. He founded a literary society for the exchange of thought between the followers of the two religions. His literary society in India was started two centuries before that of Guthrie and Grey in England. Akbar from his throne in India, and Shah Abbas from his throne in Persia, gave a great impetus to the exchange of Moslem and Hindu thought. The result is that the *Gulistan* and the *Bustan*, representing the essence of Persian practical wisdom, have for the last four centuries been the text for both Mahomedan and Hindu youths throughout Upper India. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the Hindu and the Mahomedan often take an identical view of things, which is sometimes quite the reverse of the view which the Anglo-Saxon is disposed to adopt. Let us, for instance, take the English proverb "Delay is dangerous." How different it is from the idea of the Hindu and the Mahomedan! Both of them believe in *festina lente*. The Hindu says "Vilambé karyasiddhi," which is identically expressed in the Mahomedan proverb "Dir āyed durust āyed." Both proverbs signify "Delay means success."

For centuries the Mahomedans, both Arabs and Persians, have regarded India as the true land of wisdom and the birthplace of philosophy. Under Mansur (A.D. 754 to 775) and Harun (A.D. 786 to 809) several Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. Is there any wonder

that Moslem proverbs display the ethical and political notions of the Hindu in a different dress? Sufi-ism is but a Moslem adaptation of the Vedanta school of Hindu philosophy. These points of similarity between Moslem and Hindu thought are daily discussed by Hindus and Indian Mahomedans, and such similarity creates mutual sympathy and cements the two into one race—at least, in all their dealings with Europeans.

Hindustani—the *lingua franca* of India—is the mother-tongue of tens of millions of both Mahomedans and Hindus. The educated Hindu of Upper India quotes Mahomedan literature in ordinary conversation as does the Mahomedan, while to the Mahomedan of Bengal, who does not know any Mahomedan language, Bengali is his mother-tongue. The Hindu and the Mahomedan have often joined hands in military operations and revolutions. For instance, the military services of General Perron were utilized by the Moslem Prince, the Nizam of Hyderabad, in the nineties of the eighteenth century. As soon as General Perron left the Moslem Prince, his military talents were made use of by the well-known Hindu Prince, Daulat Rao Sindhia of Gwalior. Perron, as Sindhia's General, fought against the British Army under Lord Lake. In more recent times the Hindu and the Mahomedan have made common cause. During the Indian Mutiny the rebel Hindu sepoy fought not for a

Hindu Ruler, but for the Moslem King of Delhi. Also Mahomedans fought for the Hindu leader, Nana Sahib, against the British. To the careful student of Indian history such facts are full of significance.

When the Hindu and the Mahomedan are not led away by political wire-pullers, who have their own axes to grind, they recognize that their interests are identical — they are both the permanent inhabitants of India. No amount of wire-pulling could convince a thoughtful Mahomedan that the interests of a Mahomedan Prince or a Mahomedan peasant differ from those of a Hindu Prince or a Hindu peasant. Whatever rights the natives of India have under the British Government, the Mahomedans and Hindus enjoy equally. In the same way the limitations of the natives of India are shared equally by Hindu and Mahomedan. When the Hindu sepoy could not get the much-coveted Victoria Cross, neither could the Mahomedan sepoy; if the Mahomedan soldier cannot rise to the rank of even a Lieutenant in the Indian Army, neither can the Hindu soldier. As I pointed out in an interview on the subject of the Moslem-Hindu *entente cordiale*, published in *India* dated February 19, 1909, the Councils constituted under the Statute of 1892, passed when Lord Lansdowne was Viceroy, have worked for a number of years. Both Mahomedans and Hindus have sat in the Legislative Councils. If

the interests of the Mahomedans are so much opposed to the interests of the Hindus, surely instances might be found in the records of the deliberations of the various Councils in India. It would have been better for the "All India Moslem League" to quote chapter and verse from the proceedings of the Indian Legislative Councils to prove their case than to indulge in vague surmises. The Moslem agitators have yet to prove how the interests of the Mahomedan peasant differ from those of the Hindu cultivator.

It may be taken for granted that the leading Mahomedan State in India is as jealous to guard the interests of its Mahomedan subjects as the "All India Moslem League." Within the last seventy years three Hindu Prime Ministers—Maharaja Chandu Lall, Maharaja Narendra Prasad, and the last Prime Minister, Maharaja Sir Kishen Prasad—have satisfied their Moslem royal masters that in capable Hindu hands Mahomedan interests do not suffer. The Hyderabad territories are divided into four Divisions. The Hindu inhabitants of a Division presided over by a Mahomedan Commissioner (Subadar) do not complain of oppression; nor do the Mahomedan inhabitants of a Division under a Hindu Commissioner complain of favouritism due to religious motives. The same is the case in the Districts of which the Divisions are composed.

Among the officials of the Government of India more are Hindus than Mahomedans, and that fact has in no way affected its success. No Hindu suitor has ever complained that Mr. Justice Ameer Ali (now the London President of the Moslem League) has ever given a judgment adverse to him simply because he was a Hindu. Neither can anyone say that the most orthodox Hindu, Justice Sir Guru Das Banerji, has ever decided a case against a Mahomedan litigant because of the latter's religion. The same thing may with perfect confidence be said about the two Hindu Commissioners, Mr. R. C. Dutt and Sir Krishna Gupta. Let us take some instances outside Bengal. Sir Pratul Chatterji, ex-Judge of the Lahore Chief Court, and Sir Pramada Banerji, of the Allahabad High Court, are both Bengali Brahmans who have dispensed justice to thousands of Mahomedans, both in civil and in criminal cases. There has never been any suspicion of religious partiality. Mr. Nilambar Mukerji was for many years a Minister to the Maharaja of Kashmir, but he was never unpopular with the Mahomedan inhabitants of Kashmir, who are in the majority.

The Hindu and the Mahomedan, as I have shown from the pages of Indian history, are very old associates. The friendly feeling between them, though occasionally marred, as it has been between the Shia and the Sunni sections of the Mahomedans, has stood the test of time for

centuries. Moslem-Hindu co-operation dates much farther back than the sixteenth century, when Akbar reigned. It is not generally known that as early as the tenth century, under Sabaktagin, the father of the great iconoclast, Mahmud of Ghazni, two Hindu Generals commanded the Ghazni army—General Sundar at Herat and General Tilak at Merv, the two great strongholds of Islam in Central Asia. The Mahomedan historian Baihaki, in his well-known work *Tarikh-us-Sabaktagin*, thus describes the appointment of a Hindu General in the Ghazni army: “Shah Masud granted Tilak a gold-embroidered robe, and hung a jewelled necklace of gold round his neck. Kettle-drums were beaten at his quarters, according to the custom of the Hindu Chiefs, and banners with gilded tops were granted.”

After a thousand years of close association of the Mahomedan with the Hindu, the Indian Mahomedan has been Hinduized in many respects. Every student of Islam knows that the Prophet of Arabia denounced astrology in the strongest terms ; but anyone familiar with Indian bazaars also knows that the Hindu astrologer, Jyotishi, has his rival, the Mahomedan astrologer known as Rammal. The Hindu believes in good and bad omens ; so does the Indian Mahomedan. The wedding (*nika*) ceremony of Islam is a very simple affair of proposal and acceptance ; but the Indian Mahomedan has introduced “Shabgasht”

(night procession) and other ceremonies, in imitation of the Hindu. Anyone who has watched the Muharram procession in India cannot help noticing that both Hindus and Mahomedans make up the crowd. Even Hindu Princes in many parts of India fraternize with their Moslem subjects in celebrating the Muharram. In Indore, for instance, the Holkar's *tazia* takes part in the procession.

I cannot do better than quote from my article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, dated February 10, 1909 : "Retired Anglo-Indian officials, like Lord MacDonnell, Sir Charles Elliott, Sir Arundel Arundel, Sir Charles Crosthwaite, and others, in discussing the question of Mahomedan election in the British Press, have all forgotten to peep into the leading Mahomedan State in India for some light on the subject. The 'All India Moslem League,' in its deliberations, does not in any way refer to the working of the elective system under the auspices of the natural leader of Mahomedan India. But what is most surprising is that even Lord Morley did not, in replying to the deputation of the 'All India Moslem League,' refer to the instance of the Legislative Council elections in Moslem Hyderabad. The first Mahomedan member of his lordship's Council was a retired official of the Hyderabad Government. Among the distinguished Anglo-Indian Councillors of Lord Morley is a gentleman who was for some years a British Resident

at the Court of His Highness the Nizam. One would, therefore, have thought that these gentlemen would have told Lord Morley how the elective system in the Legislative Council of Hyderabad worked. Whether Hindu subtlety has in any way injuriously affected the chances of the election of Mahomedans or their political views, or whether there are any grounds for believing that Mahomedan influence in a Mahomedan Government has in any way been used to oppose the election of Hindus, or to convert them to Mahomedan political opinions, can be answered from the records of the Hyderabad Legislative Council.

“The elective system, to choose members for the Hyderabad Legislative Council, was introduced about fourteen years ago by Sir Vikar-ul-Umara, K.C.I.E., then Prime Minister of Hyderabad. He was one of the most influential Mahomedan nobles of Hyderabad, and had married one of the sisters of the Nizam. Under his scheme for class representation, among other communities, two Vakils (Advocates) *as such*, had seats in the Hyderabad Legislative Council. A Hindu voted for a Mahomedan member, and *vice versa*. I was for years a Vakil of the Nizam’s High Court, and had therefore ample opportunities of watching the working of the Western system of representation under Mahomedan auspices. Both Hindu and Mahomedan Advocates were elected. Hindus freely gave

their votes for Mahomedans, and *vice versa*. Hindu Advocates have sat in the Nizam's Legislative Council with a majority of Mahomedan votes, and Hindus, in a majority, often voted for Mahomedan members.

"The political atmosphere of Hyderabad is, however, different from that of British India, but that is due to no fault of the Nizam's Government. While *disarmed* Calcutta and Bombay are notorious for cow-killing riots, Hyderabad, though *armed* to the teeth, knows how to manage without cow-killing riots. It is well known that the Hindus and Mahomedans live more amicably in the Nizam's territories than they do in British India. The daily Hindustani newspaper published at the Nizam's Capital, though under Hindu proprietorship, received for years, until it became self-supporting, a regular monthly subsidy from the Moslem Government of Hyderabad. A Hindu myself, I have had the honour of representing the Moslem Government of Hyderabad in law cases. The secret of the popularity of the Mahomedan Government of Hyderabad, with its non-Mahomedan population, lies in the elasticity of the procedure of the various Departments. An instance may here be cited. About twelve years ago the British Indian Factory Bill was placed on the Hyderabad Legislative anvil with a mandate from the British Resident, with a view to secure uniformity of laws throughout India. A Parsi mill Director wanted to oppose

this Bill on the ground that the mill industry was in its infancy in the Nizam's Dominions. As the mill industry was not represented in the local Legislative Council, the Nizam's Government, as a special case, stretched a point, and allowed a Hindu—myself—to argue the case before the Legislative Council, with the result that the Factory Bill was thrown out.

"Instead of discussing hypothetical cases of injustice to Mahomedans under Lord Morley's scheme, would it not be better for the 'All India Moslem League' carefully to study the working of the elective system under a Mahomedan Government with a vast Hindu population? Lord Morley may also be able to quote chapter and verse from the proceedings of the Legislative Council of Hyderabad to show that, after all, the difference between Hindu and Mahomedan interests is not so great, and that a Mahomedan elected by a Hindu majority need not be Hinduized in any way. No complaints have ever been made by Mahomedans against the mode of election in Hyderabad. There is no denying the fact that the composition of Hyderabad is as cosmopolitan in its Mahomedanism as that of the 'All India Moslem League.' From the proud 'Vilayati' (Central Asian) Mahomedans, with Moghlani governesses to make the children lisp in Persian, to the humble 'Labbay' (Hindu convert) of Madras, who, being ignorant of even Hindustani, has to be taught the doctrines of

Islam in his native Tamil, all are to be found in the Nizam's Dominions. The working of the elective system in the Legislative Council of the Nizam might, therefore, with advantage be studied by the leaders of the 'All India Moslem League' and others who may have a taste for stern facts in preference to philosophic speculations."

There is no denying the fact that, whenever the door has been widened to admit a native of India to share in the government of his country, the Hindu has always entered before the Mahomedan. The first native Judge of an Indian High Court was a Hindu. Among natives who have acted as Chief Justices Hindus were first. Hindus have been the first to fill the responsible positions of Advocate-General and Standing Counsel. The same is true in the Executive branch of the Indian Administration. The first native placed in charge of a District was a Hindu. Two Hindus have been Divisional Commissioners, but no Mahomedan has yet reached such a position. The first native to enter the Indian Civil Service was a Hindu; so was the first native who qualified as a Barrister. Instances of the Hindu leading the Mahomedan under the British Government in India may easily be multiplied. But though the Hindu has led, the Mahomedan has followed well, and in judicial appointment, the latter has now more than his proportionate share. In the

High Courts in India there are no doubt more Hindu Judges than Mahomedan Judges. But the Mahomedan population of India is only 67 millions, against over 217 millions of the Hindu, and the Mahomedan is generally much better represented than the Hindu. It was a most unwise act on the part of the "All India Moslem League" to demand a Mahomedan member in the Executive Council of the Viceroy. It may be hoped that the well-merited rebuke from Lord Morley to the deputation will in future serve the "All India Moslem League" as an excellent political barometer for its guidance. The leaders of the "All India Moslem League" forget that, when Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Afsar ul-Mulk, K.C.I.E., Commander of the Nizam's Army, took part in the China Expedition in 1900, no Hindu demanded that a distinguished Hindu soldier like Major-General Sir Pertab Singh, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., should also be given the signal honour.

The system of election of Mahomedans suggested by the "All India Moslem League" savours of "Divide and rule." Without entering into the ethics of such a time-serving policy every foresighted statesman knows that in the long run such a policy does not pay. It would not be a safe policy for the British to introduce a system which is likely to awaken and accentuate the dormant racial differences. As I pointed out in my article on "Discontent in India" in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1907, England's

moral grip upon India has by no means increased since the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Already both the Mahomedan and the Hindu, while showing an instinct of aggregation towards their native rulers, without reference to religion or race, evince a feeling of segregation from their English rulers. If they are led to believe that "Divide and rule" is going to be the British policy in India, they may lose all faith in the Government. Without confidence in the *bona fides* of a Government, no foreign Power can long rule over a population of 315 millions by force alone.

The above was published in July, 1910. In three short years events have proved that, notwithstanding the attempts of the Moslem League to conceal the Moslem-Hindu *entente cordiale* from the British public, and notwithstanding its non-recognition by the Government of India, it does exist and continues to assert itself at inconvenient moments. The *Times* of May 24 of this year published the following :

The more advanced Mahomedans are developing new tactics which require to be duly noted. The Indian National Congress, which is mainly a Hindu organization, is declining in influence owing to the greater power of the reformed Legislative Councils, but the Mahomedans have, oddly enough, selected the moment of eclipse to formulate new and unexpected expressions of unity with the Congress

and its aims. The All-India Moslem League has passed resolutions in favour of 'a system of self-government suitable to India,' and Moslem speakers have declared *that the Congress and the League now occupy a common platform.*"

I wonder whether the authorities will now reconsider the question of Communal Representation in India. Is it supported by distinguished Englishmen on the spot? Lord Sydenham, in his speech before the Mahomedan Educational Conference in August, 1912, expressed his disagreement with "special electorates and artificial means of conferring place and office" on the Moslem community. Again, his lordship at the Farewell Entertainment given by the Mahomedans of Bombay in April of this year emphasized his views in these words: "As you know, I have never thought that the principle (of Communal Representation) was good for you or for India. I am not yet convinced that I was wrong, or that you may not some day agree with me."

It is to be hoped that the authorities will before long take up the matter in the interest of British administrative prestige.

CHAPTER XII

HINDU MEDICINE

OCCASIONALLY the *Times* devotes column after column to a laudable attempt at drawing a line between scientific medicine and “quackery.” Moreover, two great “quacks”—Mr. Barker, the bone-setter, and Mr. Sandow, who, according to his own statement, has established an “Alma Mater of International Health” in the heart of London—have admittedly been successful in cases where orthodox medical experts had failed to cure. It therefore seems to me that it is not a matter of mere academic interest for the British reader, and especially for the British Medical societies, to know what Hindu “quacks” are doing in distant Calcutta. It is no secret either to the most distinguished member of the Royal Army Medical Corps, or of the Indian Medical Service, or to the private medical practitioner who has visited Calcutta, whether he be allopath or homœopath, that there the Hindu physician, called Kaviraj, defying both the orthodox allopath and the homœopathic “quack,” has been able to keep his banner of

Hindu “quackery” proudly flying. Very few medical practitioners in India of the allopathic or homœopathic school, whether they be Englishmen or natives of India, have such a practice, or count their fees by so many thousands of rupees a month, as the leading Kavirajs. The question naturally arises how these Kavirajs, if they are mere quacks and cannot cure, are able to compete so successfully against the medical system which is under the direct patronage of the Ruling Power, and that though their own Hindu system is not merely refused patronage, but is sometimes even persecuted by the allopath. I therefore propose to give the British reader a glimpse into Hindu medicine, which has stood the test of forty centuries, and now thrives in the heart of Calcutta—the city which was the Capital of the Indian Empire for over a century, and has been literally crowded with distinguished members of the medical profession—which has a Medical College second to none in the Indian Empire, and yet has been unable to subvert the forces of the Ayurvedic medical system.

The Western medical system has been successful in giving names to all sorts of diagnoses, and therefore claims to be scientific even though the technical names of diseases or symptoms do not lead to cure. But the Hindu sufferer prefers to consult the man who relieves him of his suffering, even if he cannot assign high-sounding compound Latin titles to the diseases and

symptoms. It may here be mentioned that the patients of the Kaviraj, though largely recruited from the Hindu element in India, are by no means confined to Hindus, for the Armenian merchant, the Greek trader, the Jewish banker, and even an occasional old British Colonel with a gouty spine, may be seen at Colutolla, the Harley Street of Ayurvedic practitioners.

As India preceded Europe in her knowledge of religion, philosophy, warfare, law, astronomy, mathematics, grammar, music, architecture, and other branches of human learning, so she came first in medicine also. The oldest medical book of the Hindus is called the Ayur Veda, or "The Science of Life," and is founded on the Rig Veda, the most ancient book known to the Aryan race, and on the Atharva Veda. The Divine origin ascribed to medicine by the ancient Hindus is common to many nations, and students of comparative religion may be interested to know that the idea of God as the Great Healer of infirmities is found both in the Hindu religious books and in the Bible. In the Yajur, or "Black Veda," the Deity is called "the first Divine Physician," "He who banisheth all diseases." Similarly in Exodus we find, "I am the Lord that healeth thee,"* and the Psalmist sings of the Lord, "Who healeth all thy diseases."†

The Hindu medical books date, therefore, from a very remote antiquity. Europe's "Father

* Exod. xv. 26.

† Ps. ciii. 3.

of Medicine" is Hippocrates (b. 460 B.C.), but Hindu doctors were performing intricate surgical operations, writing elaborate treatises, and building up an extensive pharmacopœia, before Hippocrates was born.

Now let us see how far the Hindu theory of medicine corresponds to that of Europe. Hindu medical science teaches that there are three all-pervading humours or forces in the body—Vayu, Pitta, and Kafa or Slesma—and that while these humours are in proper equilibrium the body remains in health. Vayu, or vital force, is of five kinds: (1) Prana, by means of which men breathe and swallow; (2) Udana, by which men utter sounds; (3) Samana, in the stomach, by which the nutritive part of the food eaten is resolved into a liquid and divided from its waste products; (4) Apana, by which the waste products are ejected from the body; and (5) Vyana, which acts throughout the body, and transports its fluids. The body is caused to live and move by means of these vital "winds" or "airs," as they are often called for lack of a better translation in English, though in reality something much more subtle is implied in the Hindu term. These five "airs" and their connection with the processes of digestion and circulation are all described repeatedly in the *Mahabharata*,* that huge encyclopædic epic of

* *Vide Santi Parva clxxxv.; Vana Parva cexii.; Aswamedha Parva xx. 14-17, xxiii., etc.*

Hinduism, which was composed about 1500 B.C., and thus proves the Hindu's grasp of medical science at that very early age. Who that reads passages like this from the Mahabharata can doubt that the principle of the circulation of the blood was widely known : "The ducts leading from the heart go up, down, and in transverse directions ; they transport the best juices of the food "? This knowledge of the Hindus dates from about the seventeenth century before Christ, while Europe only found it out in the seventeenth century of the present era, when between 1619 and 1628 the Englishman, William Harvey, made the "positive discovery" of the circulation of the blood. The second humour, Pitta, wrongly translated "bile," produces animal heat, and is also of five kinds : (1) Pachaka, which aids digestion and divides the nutritive liquid, into which the food has been resolved, from the waste products ; (2) Ranjaka, in the spleen and liver, imparts a red colour to the juice into which the food has been resolved ; (3) Sadhaka, situated in the heart, indirectly promoting the cognitive functions ; (4) Alocaka, situated in the eyes, producing vision ; and (5) Bhrajaka, promoting excretions from the skin. The third humour, Kafa or Slesma, erroneously rendered "phlegm," is likewise of five kinds : (1) Kledana, in the stomach, where it serves to moisten the food ; (2) Avalambana, in the heart, shoulder-joints, and sterno-clavicular joints ;

(3) Rasana, in the throat and tongue, where it keeps these parts moist and imparts the sense of taste ; (4) Snehana, in the head, where it invigorates the organs of sense ; and (5) Shleshana, in the joints, which are thereby made to move easily. In addition to the three humours, the Hindu theory of medicine recognizes seven other constituents of the body : lymph-chyle (Rasa), blood (Rakta), flesh (Mansa), fat (Medas), bone (Asthi), marrow (Majja), and semen (Shukra).

It will thus be seen that the humoral theory of the Hindus bears an extraordinarily close likeness to that of Hippocrates. The idea that the Hindus derived their humoral theory from Hippocrates is untenable, for a perusal of the Rig Veda will establish the fact that reference is therein made to the three humours.* Now, the Rig Veda was composed about 2400 B.C., hence the humoral theory of disease is as old as the oldest literature of the Aryans, about 2,000 years before the birth of Hippocrates. In the Mahabharata, too, we read : "Cold (Kafa), heat (Pitta), and wind (Vayu), these three are the body's attributes. Their presence in harmony is the mark of health."† Hippocrates supposed that there were four cardinal humours, formed from the four elements of which the body is composed. The ancient

* "A Short History of Aryan Medical Science," by H. H. Sir Bhagvat Sinh Jee, K.C.I.E., M.D., p. 191.

† Santi Parva xvi. 11.

Hindus, on the other hand, recognized five elements : earth, air, fire, water, and space or ether, and three humours. Like the Hindus, Hippocrates believed that "the humours are liable to undergo change ; that health consists in their right constitution and proper adjustment as to quantity ; disease, in their impurities and inequalities. . . . The primitive disturbance of the humours he attributed to a great variety of causes, chiefly to the influence of surrounding physical circumstances, such as heat, cold, air, water."* The fact is that Hippocrates, instead of being the teacher of the Hindus, was most likely their pupil, perhaps directly, and at any rate indirectly, for many critics hold, with Sir W. H. Allchin, that much of the knowledge ascribed to him was derived from his Egyptian predecessors of a remote antiquity,† and eminent scholars, like Sir William Jones, believe that in early ages Egypt was colonized by the Hindus.

So much for the originality of the theory which forms the basis of Hindu medical treatment. Now let us see what my countrymen have done in the region of *Materia Medica*. The Hindu *Materia Medica* is drawn from each of the three kingdoms of nature, and since within the bounds of India's vast continent there is

* "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," by J. W. Draper, M.D., LL.D., vol. i., p. 383. London, 1864.

† "Methodus Medendi," by Sir W. H. Allchin, M.D., F.R.C.P., p. 56. London, 1908.

an astonishing variety of soil and climate, the list of plants and minerals used in Hindu medicine is a voluminous and in many ways a peculiar one. Hindu physicians have not been content with merely growing, gathering, and compounding into physic the various medicinal herbs, but they take things into account which the West does not so much regard. They have studied the effect of the seasons upon plants, the various localities and circumstances in which the latter most fully develop their distinctive properties, the influence upon them of the sun and moon, the time they take to grow, and the exact period at which they should be gathered. Having thus reduced to a science the conditions under which the particular medicinal qualities of each plant can best mature, they have studied the methods of extracting their special properties, and have classified them in different ways. They consider medicines to be either hot or cold in power (*Veerya*) according to the influence of the sun or moon. This hot and cold theory of medicine was also developed by the Greek physician Galen (second century of the present era), who probably derived it from India. According to the Hindus, the seasons from January to June are those during which the sun exerts a less beneficial influence upon the plant-world, sucking up its juices and giving it heating properties. On the other hand, from July to December the sun's rays produce a cooling effect

on plants. These solar periods are known as *Uttara Ayana* and *Dakshina Ayana*. The variations of the vegetable world caused by the light of the moon have also been carefully observed by Hindu scientists on dark and bright nights, and Hindus of the higher classes attach such importance to the lunar mansions (*Nakshatra*) that they regulate their diet accordingly, eating certain vegetables only at certain phases of the moon. Western students of plant life are usually content to note the effect of the sun on vegetation, but in India the moon's rays are so powerful that they are an important and peculiar factor in the development of the active principles of plants. Such early Hindu writers as Agni-vesa, disciple of Atreya, Susruta, and Charaka, in the Vedic age, and Vagbhata, in the second century before Christ, have left long lists of herbs, which have since been added to, and even at the present day, on the heights of the Himalayas and elsewhere, at altitudes such as cannot be found in Europe, plants are still being discovered which possess unique medicinal properties quite unknown to the West. For example, various drugs have been made from Himalayan moss, gathered above the perpetual snow-line, which in the Himalayas is reckoned at 16,200 feet, and some of this moss is used in oils for insanity and paralysis.

Among the lists of curious Hindu remedies derived from the animal kingdom may be

mentioned a snake-skin, for destroying insects and as a healing agent; human hair burnt to ashes, for skin sores; honey of various kinds, for jaundice, scurvy, worms, eye diseases, nausea, etc.; goat's flesh fried in oil, for rheumatism; camel fat, for gout in the joints; powdered pearls, for impotency and phthisis; cow-dung, as a disinfectant and to reduce inflammation and discoloration of the skin; stag's horn powdered, and made into a paste, for sprains, bruises, and pain in the head.

The mineral kingdom furnishes a rich addition to the Hindu *Materia Medica*. Mercury is one of its most notable contributions, and seems to have been employed as an internal remedy from a very early date. It was regarded as the elixir of life. Iron, silver, and gold, were accredited with tonic properties, and the modes of preparing them are described in detail by Susruta. The science of chemistry appears, indeed, to have been considerably developed.* It is to be remarked that gems, such as the diamond, emerald, turquoise, topaz, and many others, form part of this division of the Hindu *Materia Medica*. Evidently the famous pearl, quaffed in honour of Mark Antony, would not have excited amazement by reason of its extravagance in India.

One of the most interesting phases of Hindu medicine is its diagnosis and treatment of

* *Vide "History of Hindu Chemistry,"* by Dr. P. C. Ray.

diseases. It is noteworthy in this connection that long before similar "discoveries" had been made in Europe, the Hindu physician had found out such aids to diagnosis as auscultation, introduced in Europe by R. T. H. Laennec (1781-1826), and the feeling of the pulse, the latter being studied with great minuteness, and the secrets handed down in strict confidence from father to son in the Vaidya or physician caste. Probably, if Europe were better acquainted with the extent of Hindu medical knowledge, the credit for being "the first physician to teach the value of the pulse,"* an honour assigned in the West to Praxagoras of Cos, would be given to a Hindu physician of much earlier date. At the present day the Hindu physician of Calcutta, called Kaviraj, is so skilled in detecting symptoms by means of the pulse that he can often thereby accurately foretell death a week before it actually occurs, a precision which Western medical men, aided by all their mechanical instruments, cannot attain. "The final test of a science," says Sir Morell Mackenzie, "is the possibility of *predicting* the phenomena belonging to its domain. . . . We are sure that if a man's heart stops, or if he ceases to breathe, he dies; outside the narrow circle of such fundamental truths we are in a region of mere

* "The Fitzpatrick Lectures on Greek Medicine in Rome," by Sir T. Clifford Allbutt. *British Medical Journal*, November 27, 1909.

probability." * If this test be accepted, then in some respects Hindu physicians have brought medicine nearer an exact science than the West has yet been able to do. The Hindu physicians have made note of numerous signs, many of them connected with breathing and the pulse, the presence of which in a patient enables them to predict how long he has to live. For instance, if the right pulse be intermittent, and the breath cease through the left nostril, the patient is about to die. The elaborate description of symptoms mentioned by Susruta as heralds of approaching dissolution may be compared with the celebrated "Hippocratic face," of which it has been said: "No one has ever yet offered a more accurate picture of the appearance of the dying than that presented by Hippocrates." † Susruta's symptoms, however, are of those whom death may be expected shortly to overtake, as well as those of the actually moribund.

Toxicology has long formed a subject of special study with the Hindus, and snake-bite in particular has been inquired into, Hindu physicians having been noted for their skill in this department in the time of Alexander the Great, who employed them in preference to his own medical men when in India. "Ailianos (H.A., xii. 32)

* "Essays," by Sir Morell Mackenzie. "Is Medicine a Progressive Science?" p. 37. 1893.

† "Human Physiology, Statical and Dynamical," by J. W. Draper, M.D., LL.D., p. 561. London, 1861.

says that, while the Indians knew the proper antidote against the bites of each kind of serpent, none of the Greek physicians had discovered any such antidote."* "Their bite (the serpents') was wont to prove instantly fatal, until a proper antidote was pointed out by the natives."† Nearchos, another Greek, also bears testimony to the skill of Hindu physicians in this branch of medicine.‡

Surgery was practised in Hindu India in very ancient times, though cases in which the modern Western surgeon applies the knife are now usually treated by drugs used internally and externally. The Hindus' wonderful knowledge of medicines inclines them rather away from surgery, and, when one reads of the very numerous instances in the West of patients sinking from the effects of an operation, it makes one pause and reflect whether after all the more cautious Hindu method is not well worth consideration. The modern Kavirajs are purely physicians, and have nothing whatever to do with surgery, the surgical work of Calcutta being in the hands of the allopath. But we have it on the authority of Sir William Hunter that in ancient times the Hindu medical practitioners performed rare surgical operations. The ancient University at

* "The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great," by J. W. M'Cordle, p. 217, note 2. 1893.

† *Ibid.*, p. 217.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 361, note 2, Indian serpents.

Nalanda, near Gaya, was the seat of Hindu' surgery. Even the earliest Hindu medical works describe numbers of surgical instruments and their use. Among the surgical feats familiar to the Hindus may be mentioned rhinoplasty, or the formation of new noses, skin-grafting, the removal of cataract, trepanning, bone-setting, and lithotomy. They were also skilled in amputations, and in treating rupture, piles and abscesses, while vaccination seems to have been known to them from before the time of Hippocrates. The practice of inoculation was introduced into England as late as 1721, and not till the eighteenth century did the Englishman, Edward Jenner, discover that small-pox could be prevented by vaccination.

When we consider the mammoth wars which were waged in ancient India, and the fact that the Mahabharata makes frequent mention of surgeons as a regular accompaniment of the army in the field as early as 1500 b.c., it is scarcely surprising that, with experience dating from such remote epochs, the Hindus achieved remarkable skill in surgery. Susruta, one of the earliest surgical authorities, gives elaborate instructions as to the performing of operations, and other old writers describe 125 surgical implements. Three methods of procedure were prescribed in surgery: treatment by instruments, by caustic, and by actual cautery. The use of the knife is, as I have said before, not

favoured by modern Hindu experts as it is by Western operators. The Hindus believe, as a rule, in following Nature to effect a cure, not in violent attempts to get rid of the symptoms of disease.

The name of Sir James Young Simpson (1811-1870) is connected in the West with the introduction of anaesthetics, but the employment of anaesthetics by the Hindus in certain cases is recorded at a very remote age. It should be noted that many centuries before the Christian era mention is made in the great Sanskrit work, the Ramayana, of a restorative drug, Sanjivani, which was used to bring back the patient to consciousness after a wound inflicted on the battlefield. It was also employed after a trephining operation in which an anaesthetic had been administered. This was apparently a most serviceable remedy, obviating the after-effects so commonly resulting from the use of anaesthetics.

Dr. Rudolf Hoernle has borne testimony to the amount of anatomical knowledge possessed by the earliest medical writers in India, which, he says, surprises by its extent and accuracy, considering their early date. Among the apparent differences between ancient Hindu and modern Western anatomy may be mentioned the enumeration of the bones in the human body. The early Hindu surgeons counted 300 or 360, modern Western anatomists count only about 200. The Hindu figures were arrived at by

including as separate bones the teeth, nails, cartilages, and prominent parts of bones now known as "processes" or "protuberances." As pointed out by Dr. Sumant Mehta, cartilages were regarded as immature bones. The ancient Hindu medical writers have described 500 muscles, and seven layers of the skin.

It is only comparatively lately that the West has seriously considered mental suggestion as a means of cure in certain diseases, but the use of hypnotism has long been practised in India. This is, after all, one of the most natural instances of Hindu anticipation of Occidental science, because my countrymen have always devoted themselves to the psychic as well as to the physical side of life. In the Mahabharata, composed 1,500 years before the Christian era, it is written : "Hear me attentively ! There are two classes of diseases, bodily and mental. Each arises from the other. Neither is perceived to exist without the other. Of a truth mental disorders arise from physical ones, and likewise physical disorders arise from mental ones."* The Hindu sages of those early days, holding, as they did, the theory that the soul is the cause and the body the effect, were not likely to let their physicians neglect the psychic side of man. Psychotherapy has been carefully considered in India centuries before the Christian era. They turned their special attention to the nervous system, and built

* Santi Parva xvi. 7-9.

up a regular method for its control by will-power. More than thirty centuries ago the Hindu, under the names Ida, Pingala, and Susumna, studied various nerve currents which Western medical scientists call afferent and efferent, sensory and motor, centripetal and centrifugal. The "unconscious" or "sub-conscious" mind is a term of comparatively recent coinage in the West, for only since 1876 has the Occident realized that the greater part of mind is unconscious mind, whereas thirty-five centuries ago Hindu observers had anticipated the West in their discovery of unconscious cerebration. Similarly, Hindu physicians have long known that the greater part of sensation is unconscious.

The Hindu physicians seem to have turned their study of the nervous system to good account. It should be most interesting to British readers, knowing too well, as they do, the terrific rate of increase in insanity in this country, to hear that last year's Report of the Lunatic Asylums of India, published under the authority of the Government of India, shows that there were only 1,500 legal insane out of a population of 315 millions. Let us take it that the wear and tear of life in England is fifty times as great as in India. Then we can only multiply 1,500 by 50, giving a total of 75,000 out of the population of 315 millions. There is evidently little room for comparison between the numbers of the English and Indian insane who come within

the purview of the law as being dangerous to the community. According to the Hindu system of medicine, once insane need not mean always insane. There are elaborate preparations of oils and other ingredients for external application, made by Calcutta Kavirajs according to Hindu chemistry, which have been found most effective in preventing and reducing insanity. Hindu physicians combat insanity in two ways: one by recuperating the brain-cells which have been deranged, by which means sanity is restored; and the other by waking up thousands of dormant brain-cells, which are thus made to do the work of the deranged brain-cells, and bring about the equilibrium of the mind called sanity.

The question of pre-natal influence is another subject now under the notice of Western medical men, which has long attracted the attention of the Hindus. "Before her child's birth," says the Hindu physician, "the mother should be allowed as far as possible anything she desires, lest as a result of not gratifying her wishes the babe be malformed or deficient in any faculty. It is very important that she should be surrounded by pleasant sights, smells, and sounds; that she should eat fresh, clean, sweet, appetizing food in moderate quantities; that she should pass her time quietly and happily, shunning excitement of any kind; that she should not come in contact with a deformed, ill-favoured, or dirty woman, nor inhabit a lonely dwelling, nor sleep on a very

high bed." According to Susruta, there are seven causes of all the diseases of mankind, and one of the seven is the partaking of unsuitable diet by the prospective mother, or the refusal to gratify any of her wishes during pregnancy. The same ideas still prevail in many parts of modern India, and moreover the culture of the babe's mind is actually begun while it is still in the womb. At a certain time before the child is born a day is set apart for a reception, at which the prospective Hindu mother has her woman friends and their children around her, and at which everything is done to awaken in her impressions of hope and joy, that these may be the predominant qualities in her babe's disposition. In Bengal this ceremony is called *Sādh*. So from both the material and spiritual side this subject receives in India very special attention. Numerous rules are laid down as to the mother's diet after the birth of the babe, and one physician of a very early date prescribes a mixture of ginger, pepper, myrobalans, and several other ingredients, which, administered with honey to the child, will enable it to talk sooner and benefit its voice. Another mixture is mentioned for developing its memory and other mental faculties.

It should be noted that the Hindus have devoted considerable care to questions of diet and hygiene. They have studied the different climates—and no country can afford more varied

climatic conditions than India—with regard to their effect on various diseases, and they have gone deep into hydropathy, examining the waters of their rivers, lakes, wells, and springs, and analyzing their properties. Some of the directions in Hindu medical books for performing the toilet show that long ago they clearly grasped some of the modern principles of hygiene. The rinsing of the mouth with either warm or cold water as a remedy for specific ailments, the use of oils as unguents to be rubbed into the body, the dropping of oil into the ears, the rubbing of oil into the soles of the feet to give vigour to the legs, to cause sleep, and to improve the eyesight, the taking of hot or cold water baths, and of regular physical exercise, are emphasized by Hindu physicians. It may be noted that they say too hot a bath is harmful for the eyes, nor do they advise bathing for those whose eyesight is impaired. Some also urge that for washing hot water should be added to cold, not cold to hot. Anointing of the whole body before bathing is recommended for its invigorating effect. The liberal use of various unguents and perfumes is much dwelt upon, different applications being prescribed according as the weather is hot, cold, or rainy. Two meals a day, one at morning and the other at evening, are to be taken, and "govern thy appetite" has always been one of the Hindus' cardinal maxims. "He that is devoid of wisdom," says Yudhishtira in the

Mahabharata, "desireth much food."* Hindu physicians say that half the space in the stomach should be filled with food, a quarter with water, and the rest left empty. One should never eat and drink to repletion. They recommend also that, if one be hungry, one should eat before drinking, and *vice versa* if thirsty, dropsy and tumour being the possible respective results of the violation of these rules. Cleansing the teeth is particularly strongly advocated. After meals the mouth should be carefully washed, and the wet hands passed over the eyes with the object of improving the sight. To walk a little way after a meal aids digestion, and then, after the walk, Hindu doctors recommend resting for a while on the left side. Massage is another very favourite remedy of the Hindus, both in bodily and mental ailments, and seems to have been generally employed from earliest ages. In the description of the morning toilet of the Emperor Yudhishtira, King George's predecessor on the Delhi Throne in 1500 B.C., we read in the great Hindu epic that "his body was rubbed by strong, skilful attendants with water, in which different species of medicinal herbs had been steeped."† Hindu physicians believe in regular sleep and early rising. They also advise the drinking of a certain quantity of water daily at sunrise as an aid to health and longevity.

To those who believe in the hereditary trans-

* Santi Parva xvii. 6.

† Drona Parva lxxxii. 10.

mission of talent it may be interesting to note that the profession of physician is almost always handed down in Hindu India from father to son, and whether a man may practise Hindu medicine depends on his caste. In England anyone who can study and take a medical degree may practise as a physician, and similarly anyone who can pass the necessary tests for entering the Church may be ordained; but in India a man must first be born in the physician caste before he may practise Hindu medicine, unless he be a Sadhu or religious mendicant, and similarly he must be a Brahman or one of the priestly caste before he may become a priest. One secret of the Hindu physician's success may be that centuries ago he and his fellow-inquirers achieved a general and, to them, satisfactory theory of nature. To the Hindu the universe is no mere fortuitous concourse of atoms, no puzzling labyrinth of purposeless activities and inactivities, but a cosmos capable of consistent explanation, an ordered sequence of cause and effect, a mighty whole of which human beings are just one part. It has been said of the great Western "discoverer" of the theory of evolution that "he found the science of life a chaotic maze; he left it an ordered system, with a definite plan and a recognizable meaning." But if life to the Occidentals before Darwin was merely "a chaotic maze," that was not the conception formed of it by my countrymen in India, who 1,500

years before the birth of Christ anticipated, and even went beyond, the doctrines of Darwin. They knew the laws of evolution and heredity, they had their explanation of the origin of life. Perhaps Professor Gomperz puts his finger on the Occidental physician's difficulty when he says : "The human being is a part of the whole of nature, and cannot be understood without it. What is wanted is a satisfactory general view of the process of the universe. Possessing this, we shall find the key in our hand which will open the most secret recesses of the art of medicine."* Working on these lines, the Hindu physician did not study medicine as an isolated art, but as a branch of, and in connection with, the science of the universe. To his idea philosophy, science, and religion have always been inextricably interwoven, and this has probably aided him to gain a knowledge of some secrets of nature which still baffle the Western mind.

* "Greek Thinkers," by Theodor Gomperz, vol. i., book iii., p. 285. London, 1901.

CHAPTER XIII

THE INDIAN UNREST

SOME good is always done when the British public is induced, even temporarily, to take interest in India, and there can be little doubt that the series of articles in the *Times* by Sir Valentine Chirol on Indian Unrest which has since been reprinted as a book,* has attracted more attention than any papers in the daily press since the days when the late Sir William Hunter used to write in the *Times* on Indian affairs. Sir Valentine Chirol has rendered a signal service, alike to the rulers and the ruled in India, by his advocacy of religious education for the Indian youth, for which all India—Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, and all other sects and creeds—must feel grateful to the writer who has the courage of his convictions against misinformed public opinion in England. But, at the same time, a responsibility attaches to any writer who essays to instruct as well as to interest his readers, that the information he

* “Indian Unrest,” by Valentine Chirol, with an Introduction by Sir Alfred Lyall. Macmillan, 1910.

seeks to impart should be correct, and that the branches of his subject with which he deals should be exhaustively treated. In these respects the author of these articles can be shown to be wanting. He has collected a quantity of information on his visits to India, and he writes clearly and pleasantly, but on many points he has not, so to speak, said the final word, and from what he has written his readers might easily form erroneous conclusions. In his wide survey he has sometimes been inaccurate, and has sometimes dealt with his subject too generally. Lord Cromer has pointed out that it is imperative to get a correct idea of the cause and effect of any special political incident. That able statesman lays great stress on the evils of inaccuracy. His lordship agrees with Sir Arthur Helps that "half the evils of the world come from inaccuracy."*

In a critical paper of a few pages it is only possible to examine a limited number of Sir Valentine Chirol's points which are open to criticism, and I shall confine myself on this occasion to the following questions, on which there is much to be said. These are—(1) Did the Indian unrest originate with the Brahmans? (2) Are the Brahmans its sole or even principal organizers? (3) Are the Mahomedans not in sympathy with the Hindus? (4) What is at the root of the Indian unrest? For much

* "Modern Egypt," vol. i., p. 2.

turns upon these questions, which have not been satisfactorily answered by Sir Valentine Chirol.

Sir Valentine Chirol has missed his way at the start, because he commenced to discuss the situation in India practically from the time of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak. As many brave men lived before Agamemnon, but have been forgotten for want of a chronicler, so there were many seditious utterances before Mr. Tilak appeared upon the scene. The connection between a certain section of the Vernacular Press and sedition is undeniable, and may be regarded as being admitted. It was in the seventies that the tone of the Vernacular Press changed for the worse. This change was noticed by Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1871 to 1874. He has stated that "We were a good deal troubled by abusive and sometimes seditious attacks on the governing powers. . . . No doubt the attacks were sometimes very bad and scurrilous, and it was merely a question whether such things should be permitted to go on with impunity."* He was averse to allowing protracted trials, and advocated dealing with the procedure and with the licence of professional Advocates. Sir Richard Temple, his successor, whose cue it was to describe the Bengalis as loyal, wrote in the Administration Reports

* "Memoirs of my Indian Career," edited by Sir C. E. Bernard, 1893, vol. ii., pp. 314, 315.

for 1874-75 and 1875-76 of the leanings of the Vernacular Press towards "political observations of an evil tendency, of the increasing "disposition to complain of everything which exists"; and, he wrote after his retirement, "this uneasiness and restlessness—all the more irksome as arising from no definable cause, and not being susceptible of any specific remedy—found vent in the Vernacular Press. Of these utterances, some were certainly disloyal, or even worse, while others were merely captious, peevish, fractious, petulant."* Sir Ashley Eden, as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (1877-1882), had occasion to bring before the Government of India instances of the licentiousness and seditiousness of the Vernacular Press, and to urge the necessity of bringing that Press under control, and making it powerless for mischief. "The evil," he said in Council, "has long been felt by the Government of Bengal, and, I believe, by nearly all the other Local Governments. . . . What Government does object to is the seditious and gross disloyalty of some of the vernacular papers, and their attempts to sow the seeds of disaffection to the British rule in the minds of ignorant people." It is unnecessary to dwell at any length on the proceedings connected with the passing of Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act IX. of 1878, which was repealed by Lord Ripon by Act III. of 1882. Before the Press Act

* "Men and Events of My Time in India," 1882, p. 432.

was passed, a careful inquiry was made all round India from the local Governments. The information on which the measure was based will be found collected in a Parliamentary Blue Book.* There is ample material to prove from the literature of the day that, though bombs were not exploded then against individuals, the feeling of certain classes against the Government and the English was not less intense than it is to-day. It may not have been so general as it has since become, but the seed had been sown and had taken root. The ill weed was sure to grow apace, and it did so, as later events have shown. One specimen of the vernacular literature against which the Act was directed may be quoted from Lord Lytton's confidential minute of October 22, 1877, in which he wrote : "In a despatch dated June 9, 1875, the Secretary of State called attention to certain articles in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of January 23, 1875, the tendency of which was to justify the attempt to poison Colonel Phayre at Baroda, the latter of the two articles ending with the singular peroration : 'To emasculate a nation, that the Government may rule without trouble ! Surely to poison an obscure Colonel is by far a lighter crime.' "† Sir Valentine Chirol, on p. 50, says : "As far as Bengal was concerned, an 'advanced' Press, which always took its cue from Tilak's

* Parliamentary Return, C. 2040, of 1878.

† *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Kesari, had already done its work," etc. On p. 46 Sir Valentine Chirol says: "It was on the occasion of the Sivaji 'Coronation festivities' that the right—nay, the duty—to commit murder for political purposes was *first* publicly expounded." On p. 41 it is admitted that "Tilak entered upon public life in the early 'eighties.'" I have already quoted from Lord Lytton's confidential memorandum what the non-Brahman Bengal paper, the *Patrika*, wrote in 1875.

It is clear that Sir Valentine Chirol is scarcely correct when he says that the *first* attempt at justification of political murder was made in Bombay by the Brahman leader Tilak. The fact is, it was made in Bengal by a non-Brahman editor. If there was any borrowing of tone, the fact, as I have shown from an official document, is that Bombay took its cue from Bengal, and not Bengal from Bombay, as Sir Valentine Chirol wants to make out. It is not a question of speculation or opinion, but a question of facts based on a reliable official publication. On p. 40 Sir Valentine Chirol insists that "it was in Poona that the native Press, mainly conducted by Brahmans, *first* assumed that tone of virulent hostility towards British rule and British rulers which led to the Press Act of 1879," etc. (He means 1878.) Sir Valentine Chirol may search in vain through the pages of the Blue Book* and

* C. 2040 of 1878.

other official publications of Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act to beat the peroration of the non-Brahman Bengal paper *Patrika*, which I have already quoted.

My point is that the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is edited, and has always been edited, by the Ghoses, who are *not* Brahmans. It appeared originally as a Bengali weekly, in 1868, the property of Mr. Sisir Kumar Ghose and his brother, Mr. Moti Lall Ghose. On the very day on which Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act was passed, March 14, 1878, this paper* appeared in full English dress, in order to avoid subjection to the Act in question, which did not apply to English-written journals.

From the Blue Books† on that Act it is manifest that the leading paper of Hindu "Nationalism" was then (as it is now), the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which has always been in the hands of non-Brahmans. In 1875 Mr. Tilak, later the Brahman leader on the Bombay side, was not a leader, and the present Brahman leader of Bengal, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, was earning his livelihood as a professor in a Calcutta college. He did not take charge of the *Bengalee* newspaper until 1878. This paper had been started in 1861 by two Brahmans, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, and Mr. B. Chatterjee,

* "Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men in India," by Ram Gopal Sanyal, 1894, p. 155.

† C. 2077 and 2078 of 1878.

but its editor for the first eight months was Mr. Girish Chandra Ghose, a *non-Brahman*.

The next important manifestation of Hindu unrest in India was revealed by the prosecution of the Bengali newspaper, the *Bangobasi*, in 1891, for sedition in India. The editor of the *Bangobasi*, the responsible person, was Mr. Jogendra Nath Bose, who also was not a Brahman. He, with the proprietor and the rest of the staff, was prosecuted under the Penal Code for sedition and defamation in certain articles in which statements were made against the Government, and attempts made to excite popular feeling and discontent, and disaffection towards the Government among the people. The law was clearly expounded in this case by the learned Chief Justice of Bengal, and it was shown beyond doubt that deliberate attempts to excite feelings of enmity and ill-will against the Government, and to hold it up to the hatred and contempt of the people, and misrepresentation of the true state of affairs by partial statements of facts, so as to cause disaffection, were offences under the law, and that such writings in the public Press rendered the publishers thereof liable to punishment. The jury disagreed in their verdict ; though seven to two were for a conviction, the Chief Justice declined to accept anything but a unanimous verdict. The jury were discharged. All the accused expressed contrition, and threw themselves unreservedly on the mercy of the

Government. So the prosecution was not further pressed against the defendants.

I maintain, therefore, that the facts are that the first native of India who, with reference to sedition, caused the Anglo-Indian Legislature to be set in motion was Mr. Sisir Kumar Ghose, not a Brahman; and that the first Indian who came before the British Indian Courts as an accused person in a prosecution for sedition was also not a Brahman. And both resided in Bengal, and not in Bombay. The facts are too strong to admit of any assertion that the movement throughout has been of Brahman origin, or dependent on the support of Brahmans. In this respect Sir Valentine Chirol unintentionally misleads the public, and the distinction is of great importance, because it shows that the movement is not limited to one caste.

The next question naturally follows. Is the unrest at present led by the Brahmans? I have no desire to put forward or to press any opinions of mine. My object is simply to place overwhelming facts before the public, who can form their own conclusion. A critical student of politics should not be a partisan. He should not set about collecting facts with a view to proving a particular side of the case. He should collect all the relevant facts from all round, and leave them to prove what they may. If he selects his facts, he finds others which cannot be suppressed, for facts will come out; they have a

wonderful way of asserting themselves at, perhaps, inconvenient moments, much to the annoyance of politicians and others who have not troubled themselves to study questions thoroughly. Thus we have repeated *ad infinitum* in the *Times'* articles the names of two Brahman leaders of Indian unrest, Messrs. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Surendra Nath Banerjee. But the exponent of the theory, that at the bottom of the unrest there is a Brahman movement, has taken little notice of the veteran non-Brahman Nationalist, Mr. Sisir Kumar Ghose, of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. A "Nationalist" Hindu youth utters with no less veneration the name of the *Patrika*, the organ of the non-Brahman Ghose, than those of the Brahman papers, the *Kesari* and the *Bengalee*. It must not be forgotten that Mr. Sisir Kumar Ghose is also the editor of the *Hindu Spiritual Magazine*. The *Kesari* is distinctly a provincial paper, having little circulation outside the Bombay Presidency ; the *Bengalee* is no doubt read outside Bengal, but, though in its origin a few years older than the *Patrika*, in no sense can it be said to have the same influence in "all India" as the latter. It must be remembered that the *Patrika* has a certain position, even amongst the Mahomedans, on account of its fight for the Begum of Bhopal (a Mahomedan ruler) against Sir Lepel Griffin, the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India from 1886-1889. Neither the *Kesari* nor the *Bengalee* has gained such

distinction. In short, if a question of influence throughout "all India" is to be considered, the *Patrika* has as much influence as the *Kesari* and *Bengalee* put together. The number of copies printed is not the sole criterion of influence. The *Times* itself has a smaller circulation than several other daily papers published in London, but no reasonable and sane person would ever think of classing any other single paper as equal to the *Times* in influence.

"Nationalism" may be taken fairly as the aspiration of the advanced section of Indian politicians. "Nationalists," then, are, of course, those who advocate Nationalism. How many of them are Brahmins? The most prominent among them is Mr. Krishna Varma, who used to live in London, and is well known by name to the British public, though he chooses to live now in Paris. He is not a Brahman, nor is Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, to whom Sir Valentine Chirol has devoted pages. Nor are the two natives of the Panjab, Messrs. Ajit Singh and Lajpat Rai, the first gentlemen whom Lord Morley allowed to be deported on May 6, 1907, under the old Regulation III. of 1818. Again, Mr. Arabinda Ghose, who, when charged with sedition, was in the dock and kept the Calcutta courts engaged for twelve months on the Maniktala conspiracy case, is not a Brahman. Again, in December, 1908, some nine prominent Bengalis were deported under the same old Regulation with the

sanction of Lord Morley. Their names can be seen in a Parliamentary White Paper,* set out at full length. Two of the nine are there stated to be "Hindu-Brahman, Bengali"; the other seven are non-Brahmans. Again, if the "Return of Prosecutions for Seditious Speeches and Writings which has been instituted in India since January 1, 1907," another Parliamentary White Paper,† be examined, it will be found that in the eighty-one cases, covering the two years, January 1, 1907, to December 31, 1908, (fifty-eight of them being prosecutions instituted for seditious writings and speeches, and twenty-three of them proceedings taken under Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code to require security for good behaviour from persons disseminating seditious matter)—the cases having been collected from all the principal Provinces of India—the Brahmins form but a small minority, whether among the prosecuted or among the convicted.

The facts, therefore, are too strong for it to be possible to make the assertion that the so-called Brahman leading of the Hindu unrest was, or is, a fact. No assertion or speculation or opinion is worth anything in comparison with the solid facts which I have quoted from authentic sources. But it will be said that there were Brahmins in the background pulling the strings, though their names did not occur. It is

* No. 330, published in the *Times* of January 10, 1910.

† No. 50, of March 3, 1909.

easy to make such an assertion, and it is impossible to prove its negative. But, as the names of some Brahmins do appear in a few cases, it is only reasonable to assume that they would have appeared in others, if there had been any grounds for including them. And, after all, the burden of proof lies on the party who makes an assertion, or, in other words, who wants the public to believe his statement.

As the British public like justice, and, in the long run, require truth, the truth eventually prevails ; but they are often liable to be misled, through fallacies crystallized into classical expressions by constant repetition. Such fallacious classics mislead responsible statesmen, and do an amount of harm which the first writer could never have thought would have been likely to result from his writing, or he would assuredly have been more careful to be accurate. A good many years ago the distinguished Anglo-Indian administrator, the late Sir John Strachey, wrote—and it stands in the latest edition of his book—“ There is little more sympathy between the people and their rulers (in Native States) than that which exists in British territories. . . . The Mahomedan Government of Hyderabad would be almost as foreign as our own to the people of Berar, who are Hindus, having nothing in common with their former rulers.” * By dint

* “ India, its Administration and Progress,” 1902, pp. 455, 456.

of constant repetition for some two decades, these statements had come to be a classical quotation, to be relied upon as axioms. There were, indeed, some Anglo-Indian officers who doubted whether Sir John Strachey had succeeded in arriving at the *whole truth* of the relations between Moslem rulers in India and their Hindu subjects, and Hindu rulers and their Moslem subjects ; but no one dared to cross swords with so great an authority. Sir John Strachey remained, therefore, in possession of the field until 1902, when Lord Curzon, at a State banquet at Jaipur, said : "I have sought and obtained their (Native Chiefs') co-operation and advice. I have often recapitulated the benefits which, in my view, the continued existence of Native States confers upon Indian society. . . . *They have that indefinable quality, endearing them to the people, that arises from their being born of the soil.*"* (The italics are mine.) He rightly drew no distinction between cases in which their religions differ. He pointed out that it is the Indian birth that is the bond of union. Thus, by bringing out the whole truth regarding the relations between the rulers and the ruled in Native States, Lord Curzon gave a deathblow to the classical fallacy enunciated by Sir John Strachey.

Among Anglo-Indian writers there seems to be an irresistible temptation to be first in the

* "Lord Curzon in India," by Sir Thomas Raleigh, p. 222.

field with an opinion on every matter as soon as it comes upon the *tapis*. They forget that opinions, rapidly formed and pronounced prematurely—which are not the result of wide reading, of local experience, and years of reflection—are no better than soap-bubbles which burst at the slightest touch of the needle of critical and better-informed persons. This is my eighth year in England, and during this time I have watched with amusement, not to say amazement, the birth and progress of “fallacious classics” in the opinions offered by distinguished Anglo-Indian writers. As a warning to the British public, I may give one example: In 1907, the Bande Mataram song of Bengal was very prominently mentioned and discussed in the London newspapers. Sir George Grierson, who deservedly achieved a great reputation as an authority on *Indian languages in general, but not on the Bengali language in particular*, in the columns of the *Times* unfortunately put his name, and fame as an Oriental scholar, to the statement that the Bande Mataram was an invocation to the goddess Kali. It need hardly be said that no native of Bengal, will endorse Sir George Grierson’s statement. But the statement, however inaccurate, was made by Sir George Grierson, and was printed in the *Times*. What more was required to make it classical? It is gradually becoming a classic. But, nevertheless, it is not accurate. Sir John

Rees, M.P., has already included it in his "Real India," and it may easily be supposed that other Anglo-Indian writers are making free use of it with a perfectly clear conscience, for did it not appear in print, in the *Times*? I have already written fully on the Bande Mataram elsewhere,* and need not dwell further on it here.

On p. 75 the British public are assured that in the early days of the Indian National Congress the Bengalis "had the satisfaction of feeling that for the *first* time in Indian history Bengal might claim to be marching in the van." Evidently Sir Valentine Chirol, amidst his multifarious journalistic duties, had not enough leisure to study carefully the history of India. I may point out that Bengal is the most intellectual Province in India—the most intellectual both from the Hindu point of view as well as from the Western standpoint. Among the enterprising Indian Pandits who went out as Buddhist missionaries, the Bengalis marched in the van. The distinguished Buddhist preacher who penetrated the wilds of Tibet in the eighth century was Santa Rakshita, a native of Gaur (modern Malda). He formally introduced the religion of the Buddha into Tibet. Among other Bengalis who marched in the van, centuries before England had anything to do with India, may be mentioned Pandit Dipankara, another native of Malda. In the ninth century he went

* "Indian Problems" (John Murray), pp. 65, 69.

to Pegu to preach Buddhism.* Both the Hindu and the Western jurists admit that the Bengal Law of Inheritance, called the Dayabhaga, is a much finer law than the Mitakshara, and other systems of Hindu law of other Provinces. The Nyaya is the most subtle system of Hindu philosophy in all India, and Bengal is the chief centre of Nyaya. To Nadiya, in Bengal, even to this day, orthodox Hindu students from all parts of India journey to put the finishing touches to their scholarship in Nyaya. More Bengali Hindus have sat on the benches of High Courts in British India than Hindus of any other Province. The British authorities have appointed Bengali Hindus as High Court Judges also outside Bengal. The high positions which the Bengali Hindu has occupied in the Executive Service of Government have not yet fallen to the lot of the natives of any other Province in India. The only native of India appointed to be a permanent Divisional Commissioner in India was a Bengali Hindu. The only Indian scientific man known to Europeans is Professor Jagadish Bose, a Bengali Hindu. It is, however, not true that in Bengal Brahmins have had the larger share in official appointments. Of the three highest appointments filled by Hindus during Lord Morley's tenure of office, not even one has been given to a Brahman. The first Hindu appointed

* "Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow," by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., pp. 49-51.

to the Council of India by Lord Morley, Sir Krishna Gupta, is not a Brahman ; the Hindu selected by Lord Morley for service on the Royal Commission on Decentralization was the late Mr. Romesh Dutt, again a non-Brahman ; the first Hindu chosen to be a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy of India, Mr. Sinha, is also a non-Brahman. If the appointments to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court and to the Bengal Civil Service are carefully examined, it will be seen that the non-Brahman Bengali has been more successful in obtaining these posts under the British Government of India than the Brahman. This is a relevant fact not to be overlooked, for it shows that in Bengal non-Brahmans are the most prominent on the official lists, as they are in the ranks of Hindu unrest. Sir Valentine Chirol should not have omitted to lay stress on the non-Brahman "Nationalist" leaders in his long series of articles, for the fact certainly gives a different colour to the alleged Brahman leadership in the Indian unrest.

In connection with the question whether the Mahomedans are not in sympathy with the Hindus, it is important to consider the part the Mahomedans of the present day play in the politics of India. There is no need to revert to the Mahomedan invasions of India from across the North-West Frontier or to the Moghul Empire. It is a matter of history that that

Empire, already crumbling away in his lifetime, broke up after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707—in fact, the supremacy enjoyed by that Empire passed to other hands. From whom did the English conquer India? Let Sir William Hunter, a recognized authority on history, be heard. He writes: “The British won India, not from the Moghuls, but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Moghul Empire had broken up. Our conclusive wars were neither with the Delhi King nor with his revolted Governors, but with the two Hindu Confederacies, the Marathas and the Sikhs. Our last Maratha War dates as late as 1818, and the Sikh Confederation was not finally overcome until 1849.”* So, according to Sir William Hunter (for some years the *Times* expert on Indian questions), when England appeared as conqueror in India, the Mahomedans had ceased to be “conscious of their virile superiority,” which Sir Valentine Chirol, on p. 134, notices so prominently. The ruling Mahomedan Princes of India are evidently *not* conscious of this “virile superiority” of their co-religionists in the army, since, for instance, under the premier Moslem Prince, His Highness the Nizam, there is no difference in the pay and allowance of the Moslem and Hindu, whether private soldiers or Officers, and no appointments are reserved for the

* “The Indian Empire,” by Sir W. W. Hunter, 1893, p. 375.

“virile” Mahomedans. The “virile superiority” of the Mahomedan was not noticed even by Lord Roberts, and no one can say that he had not ample opportunity of judging the “virile” powers of the various Indian races that make up the Native Army. He wrote: “I have no doubt whatever of the fighting powers of our best Indian troops; I have a thorough belief in and admiration for Gurkhas, Sikhs, Dogras, Jats, and selected Mahomedans.”* It will be noticed that the hero of Kandahar uses the word “selected” before Mahomedans. It can only mean one thing—viz., that in Lord Roberts’ opinion the average Gurkhas, Sikhs, Dogras, Rajputs, and Jats (all Hindus) make better soldiers than the average Mahomedan.

Who are the Moslems of India? They should not be confused with the Moslems of Turkey or of Central Asia. The Indian Moslems have, in the course of centuries, become largely Hinduized. It has been impossible for the Mahomedans and Hindus to live so long in close contiguity without feeling its effects. Hindu blood runs in the veins not only of most of the middle and lower-class Indian Mahomedans, but is to be found in such of the highest members of the Mahomedan aristocracy as are descendants of the Moghul Emperors of Delhi. The great Moghul Emperor Akbar was a contemporary of

* “Forty-one Years in India,” by Lord Roberts, vol. ii., p. 444.

Queen Elizabeth. In Akbar's seraglio there were several Hindu ladies who occupied in it a position as high as that of the Moslem ladies. His principal consort was not a Mahomedan lady, but a Hindu Princess, who was the daughter of Raja Bihari Mall. Her son was the Moghul Emperor, Jahangir, who sat on the Delhi throne from 1605 to 1627, as the son and successor of the great Akbar.

Emperor Jahangir also married a Hindu Princess, named Balmati, the daughter of Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur. Her son was Emperor Shah Jahan, who reigned from 1628 to 1658. Shah Jahan's son, Aurangzeb, though by no means pro-Hindu, married a Rajput Princess. Her son, Emperor Bahadur Shah I., succeeded Aurangzeb, and reigned from 1707 to 1712. Then we come to Emperor Ahmad Shah, who reigned from 1748 to 1754. His mother was the well-known Hindu Princess Udhram Bai. The Kudsia Bagh at Delhi was named after her, for, as the Empress of India, she was called Kudsia Begum.

In 1754, Bahadur Shah was succeeded by Alamgir II., who was the son of Emperor Jahandar Shah by a Hindu lady named Anup Bai. Alamgir II. reigned from 1754 to 1759.

Now we come to the last King of Delhi. Bahadur Shah II. was by a Hindu mother named Lall Bai. He succeeded to the Delhi throne in 1837, and was removed to Rangoon for complicity in the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

So it will be seen that since 1605 no less than six Moghul Emperors of Delhi, viz.—(1) Jahangir ; (2) Shah Jahan ; (3) Bahadur Shah I. ; (4) Ahmad Shah ; (5) Alamgir II ; and (6) Bahadur Shah II., out of a total of twelve, have been by Hindu mothers. In other words, half the number of the Delhi Emperors of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries have been sons of Hindu women. Some of the daughters of these Hindu ladies—wives of Moslem Emperors and nobles—were married to the Mahomedan aristocracy of India.

These were by no means solitary instances of Moslem-Hindu marriages among the Indian aristocracy. A few more examples may be quoted to show that such alliances were in vogue for centuries, and that these inter-alliances helped in cementing Moslem-Hindu friendship to an extent of which the superficial student of Indian history cannot possibly form an idea.

Malika Jahan (the Queen of the Universe), another wife of the Emperor Jahangir, was a Hindu lady, the daughter of Rawal Bhim of Jasalmir. Muazzim, better known as Bahadur Shah I., son of Emperor Aurangzeb, married Raja Rup Singh's daughter. Naila, the daughter of the Raja of Bhatner, was married to Salar Rajab, brother of Sultan Ghyasuddin Tughlak. Her son, Firoz Shah, succeeded to the throne of Delhi in 1351.

It is also an established historical fact that

some of the Hindu ladies who were wives of Moslem Emperors observed all the rites of the Hindu religion. Some of them had their own Hindu temples inside Moslem palaces.

“Virtues of mothers shall occasionally be visited on their children,” says Dickens. The instructions received at the mother’s knee are never effaced entirely from the soul. Emerson’s well-known saying, “Men are what their mothers made them,” is abundantly proved in the pages of Indian history. The *entente cordiale* that existed for centuries between the Mahomedans and Hindus in India was no doubt greatly due to the influence of the Hindu mothers of the Moslem Emperors and Chiefs in India. This *entente cordiale* is based on Moslems respecting some Hindu customs though opposed to Moslem ideas, and the Hindus cheerfully following some Moslem practices though conflicting with their religious traditions. For instance, the Prophet of Arabia did not say anything against widow re-marriage, but many aristocratic Moslem families of Lucknow and Patna to this day follow the Hindu custom of “once a widow always a widow.” Respectable Hindu families throughout Upper India return the compliment by observing the Moslem *purda*, though it is quite an un-Hindu practice. Such compromises are the cementing links between the Indian Moslem and the Hindu. The Anglo-Indian mind, however, fails to see the importance of

such cementing forces which are important factors in the Indian unrest. Notwithstanding the Anglo-Indian classic to the contrary, it is the women (Moslem and Hindu) of India who are the virtual rulers of India, with whom the importance attaching to the sentiment of widowhood or the *purda* is of much greater significance and value than a British honour for their husbands.

Again, the sympathy between the Hindu and the Mahomedan is testified by their having often joined hands in military operations and revolutions. For instance, the military services of General Perron were utilized by the Moslem Prince, the Nizam of Hyderabad, in the nineties of the eighteenth century. As soon as General Perron left the Moslem Prince, his military talents were made use of by the well-known Hindu Prince, Daulat Rao Sindhia of Gwalior. Perron, as Sindhia's General, fought against the British Army under Lord Lake.

In more recent times the Hindu and the Mahomedan have made common cause. During the Indian Mutiny the rebel Hindu sepoy fought, not for a Hindu Ruler, but for the Moslem King of Delhi. Also Mahomedans fought for the Hindu leader, Nana Sahib, against the British. To the careful student of Indian history such facts are full of significance.

The Mahomedans, moreover, have had their times of unrest in India, as the Hindus are now

having. The Wahabi conspiracy of the sixties and seventies cannot be forgotten. "Certain conspiracies on the part of Mahomedans in Calcutta and in Patna, the capital of the Behar Province, had been discovered. Patna, indeed, had for many years been known to the Government as a focus of mischief, and the secret designs emanating from this centre, as well as from others in the north, had always been watched, sometimes also frustrated, by the British authorities."* It was during the progress and at the close of the Mulka and Sittana campaign in 1863 that it was discovered that supplies, both of men and money, were being regularly forwarded to the Wahabi fanatics of those places from British territory. Inquiries proved that there existed an extensive conspiracy among a certain Mahomedan sect in Lower Bengal, formed for the purpose of aiding what was held to be a religious war against the British Government. The measures adopted in consequence of this discovery led, in the sixties, to the arrest of eleven persons implicated, who were tried at Umballa and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The prime mover of the conspiracy in Lower Bengal was arrested, tried, and sentenced by the High Court to transportation for life.

Subsequently it transpired that a *jihad*, or

* "Men and Events of My Time in India," by Sir Richard Temple, 1882, p. 386.

religious war, against the British power had for some time been preached, and collections in aid of the Hindustani fanatics on the frontier made on a regularly organized system. In order to ascertain the full strength of this movement, the leading preachers of sedition, as well as all foreign emissaries from the North-West Frontier against whom any proof of complicity was obtained, were detained under Regulation III. of 1818, the inferior and subordinate agents being liberated but carefully watched. It was found that the movement was extensively ramified, and that there were agents stationed in different and distant parts of the country. Several of the leading agents, against whom strong presumptive evidence was discovered, were held under detention, pending the final decision of the Government. A number of arrests were made of persons suspected of complicity in the efforts of the Wahabi fanatics to excite a *jihad*, and they were detained under the Regulation. In connection with the measures undertaken for the suppression of these intrigues, it was considered whether it was not necessary to amend the law with the object of enabling the Government to deal more satisfactorily with seditious proceedings not amounting to waging, or attempting to wage, or abetting the waging of, war against the Queen. The Bengal Government thought such an amendment was required to meet cases of seditious preaching, such as

had been alleged against certain of the Wahabis, and for which there seemed to be no satisfactory provision in the existing law. But nothing appears to have been done, and an opportunity of strengthening the law was missed, which was subsequently felt. So many as twenty-six Mahomedans were arrested in connection with the Wahabi movement, and detained as State prisoners under the Regulation. When the evidence collected against them was considered to be sufficient for their conviction, they were brought to trial, and a number of them were found guilty and received various sentences. The High Court of Bengal reversed some of the convictions, but upheld those of the principal offenders. The Wahabi prisoners, who were men of very small consequence, were discharged with a warning that their conduct would be watched and reported on by the police, who were instructed to exercise a general surveillance over their doings.

Whether the Wahabi conspiracy could ever have assumed dangerous proportions it is impossible to say. Their proceedings were never allowed to become formidable as overt acts of violence. But individual cases of Mahomedan fanaticism have occurred from time to time. Such was the murder of Colonel Mackeson, Commissioner of Peshawar, in 1853, of a wound inflicted by a religious fanatic; also that of H. V. Conolly, District Officer of Malabar,

murdered in his own house by Mahomedan fanatics in September, 1855. On October 6, 1855, Lord Dalhousie wrote as follows regarding a case which had lately occurred at Bolarum, within the limits of the British Cantonment of Secunderabad, on the occasion of the Muharram, or ten days' fast observed by the Shia Mahomedans : "The most inflammatory pamphlets on the Musulman side are being circulated throughout the country, notwithstanding the seizure of them wherever they can be found. Fortunately, Outram is at Lucknow, and the affair is thus in the best hands. Mahomedan fanaticism has produced, since I wrote, another sad tragedy. Colin Mackenzie, one of the Brigadiers of the Hyderabad Contingent, has been cut down by his own troopers (the 3rd Cavalry), and is now swimming for his life. The whole regiment for a time mutinied, but gave in. It is alleged that he interfered with the exercise of their religion during their great feast—the Muharram. However that may be, he certainly interfered most unwisely, and personally, with a procession, and was attacked directly. *All these concurrent instances of Mahomedan frenzy and violence are indications not to be disregarded. They care nothing that we are fighting for the Moslem interest in the East. They look only to their own interest, and in it they are ready and eager to take advantage of what they believe the state of weakness to which*

that same war [in the Crimea] has brought us, and this is the time in which Her Majesty's Ministers are countenancing the ignorant folly of Sir (De Lacy) Evans in his proposal to draw largely troops from India!"* (The italics are mine.)

There were also the murders of the Acting Chief Justice, Mr. J. P. Norman, in 1871, and of the Viceroy, the Earl of Mayo, in 1872, perpetrated by Mahomedan fanatics. These two cases occurred while the Wahabis just mentioned were under trial for treason against the Government, and there has always been a suspicion of complicity between those interested in the Wahabi trials and the murder of Lord Mayo. There is a difference in their religious views between Hindus and Mahomedans in respect of these matters. The Hindu religion is opposed to murder on "religious" grounds ; there is no historical record of murder of Europeans by Hindus on "religious" grounds. Hindus have committed murders from political motives. Mahomedans, on the other hand, are actuated by religious fanaticism—*ghaza*, which may break out any day anywhere.

My point is that there has been, and is, sympathy between the Hindus and Mahomedans. They do not willingly tell of each other. If the Mahomedans did not sympathize with the

* "Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie," by J. G. A. Baird, 1910, p. 357.

Hindus in the present unrest, the Hindus could not possibly have taken to violence without the authorities receiving information in time to enable them to act. The Mahomedan lives side by side with the Hindu in all Indian towns. It is impossible for the Hindu to continue practice with revolvers or bombs without the sound of gunpowder explosions attracting the attention of a Mahomedan neighbour.

Again, more than one Mahomedan has figured in the Law Courts charged with sedition. Two Mahomedans, Mr. Liakat Husain and Mr. Abdul Ghafur, were so charged and convicted in January, 1908, by the Sessions Court, Bakarganj, in Eastern Bengal. Another Mahomedan, Mr. Ibrahim Khan, composed the notorious "Red Pamphlet," which created great sensation at Mymensingh, also in Eastern Bengal. When prosecuted in June, 1907, he apologized to Government, and criminal proceedings against him were stopped.

Even the old Mahomedan capital, Delhi, has sent its contingent to the Hindu centre at Poona. The Hindu has not had the monopoly of making seditious speeches there. Mr. Haidar Raza (Mahomedan), late editor of the *Astab* of Delhi, was charged in September, 1908, at Poona, with delivering a seditious speech. Aligarh, the so-called loyal Moslem centre, is not free from Mahomedan seditiousists. Mr. Fazl-ul-Hasan (Mahomedan), editor of the *Urdu-i-Mu'alla*,

published at Aligarh, was charged with sedition, and convicted in August, 1908, by the District Magistrate at Aligarh. The High Court upheld the conviction. Though many Mahomedans have not been accused, yet the instances show that the Mahomedan strongholds of Delhi and Aligarh are not free from active sedition. Sir Valentine Chirol, on p. 5, writes : " Not a single Mahomedan of any account is to be found in the ranks of disaffected politicians." I have already shown from official records that several Mahomedans have figured in British Indian courts in connection with seditious proceedings. We have seen that among this number were more than one editor of a newspaper. They may not be " of any account " in Sir Valentine Chirol's opinion, but it must be remembered that no Mahomedan editor is " of any account " when compared with Hindu editors, for the simple reason that no Mahomedan paper has such influence or circulation as the Hindu papers, the *Patrika*, the *Bengalee*, or the *Kesuri*. Therefore, we can only discuss the *comparative* importance of the Mahomedan editors and the part they have played in the Indian unrest. To say that the Mahomedan had absolutely nothing to do with the Indian unrest is to ignore the decision of the British Indian Law Courts. This only goes to corroborate the testimony of the Mutiny that, though the Hindu and the Mahomedan may occasionally collide over the slaughter of a

cow, which, while sacred to the former, is one of the animals sacrificed by the latter, they are as one against the English. Cow riots are unknown in the Native States. The British Government in India sometimes proceeds, though not intentionally, on lines which are against the instincts of both Hindus and Mahomedans. It is different in Native States.

Sir John Rees, M.P., in his article on "The *Times* and India," published in the *Fortnightly Review* for November, 1910, has, I am afraid, failed to gain credit either as a careful student of Indian history or as a critical reader of current politics in India. One can understand inaccuracy in a roving journalist who has never lived in India, but carelessness in statement of facts in a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, who has posed as an instructor of the British public from his place in Parliament, is to be regretted. In his very first sentence Sir John Rees praises the "accurate information" of the *Times* writer, and emphasizes the latter's statement that the recruits of Indian unrest are "chiefly from the Brahman caste." Indeed, he goes farther than Sir Valentine Chirol, and says that the Brahman caste, "influential as it is under our rule, was all powerful under that of our predecessors in title." If he means that the majority of Hindus holding the highest appointments under the Moghuls were Brahmins, he will find nothing in the pages of Indian

history to support this novel theory. No Brahmins held such high offices under the Moghul Emperors of India as the non-Brahmans, Todar Mall, Finance Minister, and Man Singh, Governor of Bengal. About the Indian Mahomedans, also, Sir John Rees has, unfortunately, tried to improve upon Sir Valentine Chirol, who at least qualified his statement (p. 5) of Mahomedan loyalty by saying, "not a single Mahomedan *of any account* is to be found in the ranks of disaffected politicians." But Sir John Rees has no hesitation in making the most sweeping remark, which is at variance with facts, without any qualifications whatsoever. He writes : "One-fifth of the inhabitants of India, they (the Mahomedans) are, to a man, our friends." The British public, especially his Parliamentary friends, may be excused if they show some curiosity to know how he explains away the recent decisions of the British Courts in India, presided over by able and honest Englishmen, which I have already quoted, against the Mahomedan.

It is to be regretted that Sir Valentine Chirol has not carefully sifted all the information he received from various quarters. Some of it is inaccurate, and, I am sorry to have to add, some is unfounded. Take the statement regarding Hyderabad (on p. 133): "Even in Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam's Dominions, where, under the wise administration of a great Mahomedan ruler, whose Prime Minister is a Hindu,

the relations between Moslem and Hindu have hitherto been quite harmonious, a change is gradually making itself felt under the inspirations of a small group of Bengali Hindus, who have brought with them the Nationalist cry of ‘Arya for the Aryan.’” Now, I have spent the best part of my life in Hyderabad, and am in weekly correspondence with friends—Hindus, Mahomedans, and Parsis—there. I have no hesitation in contradicting this statement *in toto*. There are no “Nationalist” Hindu Bengalis in Hyderabad. There is no room for a “Nationalist” cry, for the obvious reason that there is no difference in the treatment between the rulers and the ruled. Unlike British India, the Hindu subject race at Hyderabad has equal right with the Moslem ruling race in the use of arms; no Arms Act obtains to deprive the subject race of the privilege which the ruling race enjoys. The Hindu Magistrate tries the Mahomedan offender. Unlike the British Criminal Procedure Code, the Nizam’s *Zabtai Faujdari* (Criminal Code) does not contain a special Chapter for the trial of the offenders of the ruling race in Hyderabad. The Hindu subject of the Nizam has equal rights with the Mahomedan in the military service. In civil employ the post of Prime Minister has been held by Hindus. The Nizam’s Dominions are divided into four Divisions, out of which only one is held by a member of the ruling race, the Mahomedan. The other three Divisional Com-

missioners are non-Mahomedan. Hindu Bengalis have nothing to complain of in Hyderabad. , The late Accountant - General in Hyderabad was a Hindu Bengali, who had risen to that high post from a petty clerkship of Rs. 50 a month, over the heads of many Mahomedans of much longer service. A Hindu Bengali engineer served the Nizam's Government for years on Rs. 1,500 a month, and retired on pension. Hindu Bengalis are to be found in the Nizam's Financial, Revenue, and Medical Departments. In most cases they owed their first appointment to the good service rendered by their fathers to the Nizam's Government. They have no interest in the " Nationalist " cry, because they prosper better under the Moslem ruler than they would have done in British territory. I have myself practised in the Nizam's Courts as a Vakil (Advocate), and, though a Hindu Bengali, I often had the honour of representing the Moslem Government in preference to Mahomedan Vakils who were my seniors at the Bar by twenty years. Such being the state of affairs, where is the room for the " Nationalist " cry which the heated imagination of the informant of Sir Valentine Chirol has conjured up ? Such an absolute fiction, in a series of serious articles, is likely to detract from the trustworthiness of other statements of the writer.

As the Moslem Prince of Hyderabad has trusted a Hindu as his Prime Minister, so in the late

eighties a Mahomedan gentleman, Kazi Shahab-uddin, enjoyed as Prime Minister the confidence of the Hindu Prince of Baroda. The conclusion that should be drawn from such facts is that, though they differ among themselves in matters of religion, the Hindu and the Mahomedan can not only live peaceably together, but command the confidence of one another, and are in sympathy with one another.

I have now to consider what is at the root of the Hindu unrest, for which Sir Valentine Chirol has not fully accounted. The question naturally arises here, How and when did the natives of India first begin to feel the pressure of foreign rule? If Sir Valentine Chirol had taken the unrest at its commencement in the early seventies, he would have found it much easier to go to the root of the cause, because there would have been no side-issues to obscure his view. In 1875 there was no South African question, no Excise Duty on cotton goods, no Japan to emulate, no native of India had been superseded as a Divisional Commissioner, High Court Judge, or any other big post under the Government. It was ten years before the birth of the Indian National Congress, and eight before the Ilbert Bill agitation. Then, what was it that the natives of India most resented? The answer to the question is very simple, though not at all palatable to the Anglo-Indian; but as facts assert themselves at inconvenient seasons,

it is well to recognize them in time. Sir Theodore Morison, a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, when residing in India, wrote : "It is an ugly fact which it is no use to disguise that the murder of natives by Englishmen is no infrequent occurrence. In one issue of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of this month (August 11, 1898) three contemporary cases are dealt with, in none of which have the prisoners paid the full legal penalty for murder. I cannot pretend to an opinion whether in these or previous cases there has been an actual miscarriage of justice, but I do unhesitatingly assert that very few Englishmen in India believe that an English jury, as juries are at present constituted, would, even on the clearest evidence, convict one of their countrymen of the murder of a native. The pick of Anglo-Indian society is either not qualified for or is exempted from serving on a jury ; juries in European cases are therefore empanelled from among English shopkeepers or railway employees of the big towns. This is the very class in which the arrogance of a conquering race is most offensively strong, and their moral sense does not endorse the legal theory that an Englishman should atone with his life for killing a nigger. When three artillerymen were sentenced by a former Chief Justice to seven years' rigorous imprisonment for having brutally caused the death of a respectable practitioner (Dr. Suresh Chandra) in Barrackpore, an English

Military Officer wrote anonymously to one of the native papers approving the verdict, and declaring that in any other part of the world but India the three artillerymen would have been hanged. Upon this, one of the English papers, the *Morning Post* (of Delhi), retorted : ‘ We should like to have the name of this individual. Without it we must decline to believe that there is any Britisher in this country *so degenerate as to subscribe to such sentiments.*’* In a later passage in the same book Sir Theodore Morison added : “ Englishmen of the baser sort say with considerable logical consistency : ‘ Let Government take up a courageous attitude. We are the dominant race, and intend to remain so ; all the privileges of conquest should be reserved for us.’ These are the men who will not allow a native to carry an umbrella over his head in their presence, and insist that every native shall salaam to them, though such men have rarely the courtesy to acknowledge the salute. A case acquired a certain notoriety of late, and is said to have gone up to the Secretary of State, in which an Englishman thrashed an old native schoolmaster, not because he had neglected to salute him, but because the salaam was not performed with that inclination from the vertical which the Englishman thought was due to the dominant caste.” †

* “ Imperial Rule in India,” 1899, pp. 27, 28.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.

So even the thoughtful Anglo-Indian writers are trying to put their finger on the sore. But why do they not use the surgeon's knife and eradicate the sore? Is it due to national vanity to admit such a state of things? or is it simply apathy? There is no denying the fact that it is the arrogance of some Anglo-Indians that is at the root of all the trouble in India. The arrogance of the low Europeans is the bedrock on which the citadel of sedition is built. Remove the bedrock, and the fortress of sedition will crumble away of itself. I have spoken to Hindus and Mahomedans in various walks of life, and I have never found even one man disagreeing with me on this point. The so-called administrative "reforms" do not touch the masses, but the low European's kick touches the backs of the masses more than the English higher official classes can conceive. The remedy is in the hands of the Government. Lord Morley deported many Indians without a trial; let Lord Crewe deport *after trial and conviction* a few of the offending Englishmen, and his lordship will see the magical effect. Adequate punishment of the European offender is the only solution of the present situation. In Lord Lytton's time the unrest first drew official attention. It was also Lord Lytton who was the first Viceroy to issue orders on the subject of the violence of Europeans towards natives of India. In the notorious Fuller case of 1876 the Government order contained the

following passage : “ The class of misconduct out of which this crime has arisen is believed to be dying out ; but the Governor-General in Council would take this opportunity of expressing his abhorrence of the practice, instances of which occasionally come to light, of European masters treating their native servants in a manner in which they would not treat men of their own race. This practice is all the more cowardly because those who are least able to retaliate injury or insult have the strongest claim upon the forbearance and protection of their employers. The Governor-General in Council considers that the habit of resorting to blows on every trifling provocation should be visited by adequate legal penalties, and that those who indulge in it should reflect that they may be put in jeopardy for a serious crime.”

I am glad to believe that the kind of misconduct referred to in these orders has further diminished, and that fewer cases occur nowadays. But, on the other hand, India still receives many Englishmen of the lower classes who do not know how to behave properly towards the natives of the country. They give Englishmen a bad name, which the dignified demeanour and gracious courtesy of the better class of Englishmen do not remove. The unrest, then, sprang some decades ago, from the personal ill-treatment of the natives by Englishmen, who ought to have been deported from the country ; this was utilized,

probably magnified, by the Vernacular Press, and from such beginnings unrest has developed into sedition, bomb-throwing, and violence.¹ Administrative reforms, like the extension of the Legislative Councils, do not go to the root of the matter. Unrest is the consequence of racial hatred, arising from the conduct of some members of the dominant race. Sir Valentine Chirol, on p. 302, says: "It must be admitted that there have been from time to time cases of brutality towards natives sufficiently gross and inexcusable to create a very deplorable impression." As long as Englishmen are allowed to treat brutally natives of India, and the offenders escape adequate punishment, all the so-called administrative reforms will not stop sedition.

Sir Valentine Chirol has given some valuable impressions, and he has touched on many interesting points; but it is better to thresh out even a single question to its core than to deal superficially with a number of subjects. The Indian unrest is no longer a question of academical interest, but a subject which, if not properly handled, may lead to a catastrophe in the near future. But no subject can be properly handled unless one can get hold of the *whole truth* about it. There is no doubt that, if before they were reprinted in book form the *Times* articles had been supplemented with further facts, so that the *whole truth* might be placed before the readers, they would have been of more use to the statesman and the historian alike.

CHAPTER XIV

ENGLISH AND INDIAN STATESMEN

A VOLUME of Anglo-Indian Studies would be incomplete without a Chapter devoted to a few of the chief Englishmen and Indians who helped in consolidating the Indian Empire after the Mutiny of 1857, which shook the British power in India to its very foundations. The careers of these leading statesmen of past times are of perpetual interest to later ages, both from a historical point of view and as affording examples for observation and imitation. I have therefore given a brief account of the lives, taken in chronological order, of six distinguished builders of the Indian Empire—three Englishmen, one Mahomedan, and two Hindus. There will be, no doubt, some differences of opinion as to whether I have selected the three foremost Englishmen, but there can be no two minds, either among Englishmen or among natives of India, as to the three Indian names being unquestionably those of the most prominent Indian statesmen of the latter half of the nineteenth century. In any other country but India, Salar Jang, Madhava

Rao, and Dinkar Rao, would long ago have been honoured each with a two-volume Life, written as a guide for future generations. As the genius of these three Indian statesmen built up three wealthy and powerful Native States—Hyderabad, Baroda, and Gwalior—it is all the more inexplicable why no more imposing biographies than half-crown booklets have been considered necessary to hand their names down to posterity. Let us hope that serious attempts will be made by the present Rulers of these States to enhance the reputation of their respective Principalities by honouring their illustrious Ministers before the Anglo-Indian officials who co-operated with them and highly appreciated their services join the majority. It would be a national disaster if exhaustive biographies of these eminent natives of India were not edited before valuable correspondence with British officials is lost. I had occasion to write the Life of a distinguished Englishman* forty-five years after his death, and I know from experience how delay adds to the difficulties of the task.

Englishmen have not been slow to recognize the merits of Indian statesmen. Sir Charles Dilke wrote in "Greater Britain": "That such men as Madhava Rao and Salar Jang should be incapable of finding suitable employment in our service is one of the standing reproaches of our

* "Life of Sir John Hall," with an Introduction by Sir Massie Blomfield. Longmans, 1911.

rule." "Without great men, great crowds of people in a nation are disgusting ; like moving cheese, like hills of ants—the more, the worse," said Emerson. As Lord Sydenham has remarked : "There is an ample supply of *polemics* in India, but of *politics* there is at present little." The dearth of true politicians in India is an additional argument for making adequate records of these native Indian statesmen. In India there is abundance of *vocal* patriotism : here is a good opportunity to try a little *practical* patriotism as a change, by writing biographies of these eminent Indians.

1. RAJA SIR DINKAR RAO (1819-1896).

The Maharashtra Brahmans have long been known for their intellectual power and capacity for political employment. The Court and offices of the Peshwas at Poona were full of them ; they combined the brains of a Bengali with a force of character which was their speciality among the races of India. The famous Minister of whom I write had inherited the general characteristics of his race, while he possessed some qualities peculiar to himself, which raised him above the crowd. The records of his career are not voluminous, and I must express my acknowledgments to the Madras* gentleman who has compiled the best memoir of him I have found.

* "Representative Indians," by G. Paramaswaram Pillai, 2nd edition, 1902, p. 297.

Dinkar Rao was born in December, 1819, in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. His ancestors for several generations had established themselves in the Maharaja Sindhia's territory in Central India, in the great Maratha State of Gwalior, where they held a Subah, or Division of the State. Dinkar Rao frequently resided in British territory at Agra and Cawnpore, so that his knowledge of India was not limited to the Native States ; but he was destined for the service of the Gwalior State, and his talents were so great that he was sure to rise in it.

His education was of the old style ; he read Sanskrit and Persian, and studied Hindu music and medicine, while particular attention was paid to his religious education, so that he grew up an orthodox Hindu, devoted to the observance of all the obligations of his religion. It is not explained why he did not commence to learn English until his fortieth year, and the impression that he conveyed to Englishmen was that, though he had acquired the language in a general way, he was not capable of maintaining a conversation in it without a considerable admixture of the vernacular.

Dinkar Rao entered on official life at the age of fifteen as an assistant in the Gwalior State, and showed such a capacity for official business that in due course he succeeded his father as a Subadar. This was the chance of his life. He

was able to display fully his ability and aptitude for administrative work. In the language of the memoir already mentioned, "The reorganization of the Police, the construction of Police stations, the forming of rules for the effective realization of revenue, the preparation of a code of rules for the guidance of subordinate officers, and the introduction of numerous other reforms, evoked the admiration of his Sovereign and the Political Agent, Sir Richmond Shakespeare." He was apparently in the Gwalior service at the time of the intrigues connected with the Regency of the State in 1843, and of the hostilities with the British Government which culminated in the battles of Maharajpur and Punniar, in December of that year ; but his name does not appear in the proceedings of the period. The administration of the State became disorganized ; crime was rampant ; person and property were insecure ; the revenue was not properly collected ; peace and order were wanting. Parts of the country broke into rebellion.

Dinkar Rao, who had been eighteen years in the State employ, was promoted in 1852, on the occurrence of a vacancy, to be Dewan, that is Prime Minister, of the Gwalior State. The Maharaja Jiaji Rao Sindhia of Gwalior, born in 1835, was still young, and not an easy man to get on with. In 1852,* on the death of

* "Life of Sir Richard Meade," by Dr. T. H. Thornton, p. 19.

the Resident of the Council of Regency, it was decided to invest the Maharaja with the full powers of the Chiefship, ten months before the time appointed by Treaty. It was then that he appointed as his Minister Dinkar Rao, whose character and rare ability had been discerned by the Political Agent, Major Malcolm. "The Minister soon justified his choice, and threw himself energetically into the work of administrative reform. Within less than two years law and order were established to an extent previously unknown, fiscal oppression was put a stop to, taxation reduced, the subordinate races fairly dealt with, roads constructed, transit duties abolished, and the foundations of an educational system laid, while, thanks to diminished peculation and a large increase of the cultivated area, the revenues of the State expanded." Liberal assessments of land revenue were granted for terms of years; the more iniquitous of the transit duties were abolished; and he worked hard to ameliorate the lot of the people. For a time, the whole progress was to the credit of the Minister, acting singly.

Unfortunately, on Major Malcolm's departure, and before his successor arrived, "the young Chief rashly took the reins into his own hands. The Minister, whose reforms had made him a host of enemies, was virtually dismissed from office, and affairs soon drifted into dire confusion." He was even deprived of estates which

had been conferred on him in perpetuity. Under the influence of Major Charteris Macpherson, the Maharaja soon saw his error, and restored Dinkar Rao to office, if not to power, and the administrative reforms were again advanced.

By the mutiny of the Gwalior Contingent in 1857 the Political Agent was forced to quit Gwalior. But the counsels of Dinkar Rao were strongly in favour of British interests ; "he saved his master by his advice and prudence." Though it is impossible to say what were Sindhia's personal instincts, the weight attaching to Dinkar Rao's ability and influence must be recognized.

Sir Richard Meade wrote that Dinkar Rao's devotion and services to his master were beyond all praise. "He was, in truth, the impersonation, in his own territory, of loyalty to his Chief, and of order amidst the wild anarchy then raging, which threatened to sweep away all before it ; and his attachment for, and friendly good feelings towards, the British Government and its Officers . . . can never be forgotten by those who experienced it, or benefited thereby, or were acquainted therewith." The shrewd Brahman statesman had no love for violence and excess, and could foresee clearly, through the strife and din, the ultimate restoration of order and the supremacy of the Paramount Power.

In June, 1858, the Maharaja and Dinkar Rao, who, though they could not control the Durbar troops, or restrain them from local outbreaks, hindered them from joining as a body in the revolt, and generally impeded their tendencies to mutiny, were compelled to seek refuge at Agra. This occurred long after the recapture of Delhi and Cawnpore, when the issue was no longer doubtful.

From the date, June 19, 1858, that Gwalior was retaken from the rebels, and the Maharaja was re-established in his palace, his confidence was withdrawn from his Minister, to whom he conceived an intense dislike. Dinkar Rao, having lost favour with his master, vacated office in December, 1859, and after his removal the Maharaja himself superintended the whole of the State affairs until his death in 1886. In 1859 Dinkar Rao was presented, simultaneously with the faithful Chiefs, to the Governor-General received Lord Canning's thanks, and was granted an estate in the Benares District for his services. In 1861 he was nominated to be an Additional Member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council.

When Lord Canning was leaving India in the spring of 1862, Dinkar Rao, in a memorandum dated March 2, 1862, laid before the Viceroy as he conceived it to be proper for him to do such observations on the administration of India as he thought would be conducive to the

good of the Government and comfort of the people. It is a remarkable document, genuine, sincere, and outspoken, in which the writer was evidently actuated by loyalty both to his country and the Government, but showed that he had yet much to learn in matters of statesmanship : the intense conservatism of the Brahman mind was manifest in all his views. It will be interesting to refer to some points of the advice which he offered to the retiring Governor-General. The dissatisfaction and discontent which—and not, in his opinion, the greased cartridges—had led to the Mutiny he attributed to the severity of some of the Government regulations opposed to native customs, and to the harassment of many classes, especially by the various taxes constantly imposed. He was, on principle, opposed to direct taxation ; but, if levied at all, he suggested its graduation by classes of the population, on an average rate of one rupee for each person, not as a poll-tax. The Arms Act, involving the deprivation of arms, he regarded as a permanent cause of dissatisfaction, though he advocated restrictions. He saw advantages in the appointment of independent Hindu Princes and Chiefs to the Legislative Councils. He proposed Agra, Delhi, or Roorkee, as the seat of Government. Anticipating by many years the outcry against the short stays of Officers in their Districts, he suggested their retention for at least ten years in one District ; he similarly anticipated a point

by which has been raised in recent years as if new, suggesting the reduction of all official writing. He had introduced regulations into the Gwalior Government and claimed to have achieved the contentment of the peasantry. Though recognizing their utility, he was for the abolition of legalized Pleaders in Courts.

At Lord Lawrence's Agra Durbar of November, 1866, Dinkar Rao was made a K.C.S.I., after which he magnanimously went up to the Maharaja Sindhia and gracefully said, "I owe this honour to you, my master." "For ability and veracity" (wrote Dr. George Smith)* "there was no native in India equal to Dinkar Rao." After his dismissal from office Dinkar Rao "further incurred Sindhia's displeasure by absenting himself from a durbar at which the Prince had announced his adoption of a son, and in consequence the *jagir* [hereditary freehold], which had been conferred upon him in recognition for his services, was resumed, and a sentence of exile from Gwalior passed upon him." A reconciliation was effected to some extent. The *jagir* was restored, and the ex-Minister was permitted to return to Gwalior, but he was never re-employed, and Sindhia on his death-bed specially desired that Dinkar Rao should have nothing to do with the administration of his territory.

In 1873 Dinkar Rao was appointed guardian of the young Prince of Dholepur, and was

* "Twelve Indian Statesmen," p. 94.

invested with general powers of control and supervision in the administration of the State, subject generally to the control of the British authorities ; but he was compelled by ill-health to retire from office towards the close of the same year. In 1875 he was one of the native members of the tribunal appointed by the Viceroy to try Mulhar Rao, the Gaekwar of Baroda, on which occasion he briefly reported his opinion that the charge against the Gaekwar of instigating the attempt to poison Colonel Phayre was not proved. The title of Raja was conferred on him on June 1, 1877, and in 1884 it was made hereditary by Lord Dufferin, who took a special interest in the Gwalior State, and was specially desirous of due honour being shown to the famous Minister.

In 1885 Dinkar Rao was appointed to manage the Dewas State (Senior Branch) in the Central India Agency, through the Raja, but, for reasons which are not recorded, he relinquished the task in June, 1886. As his age advanced and he became infirm he retired from public affairs. A Hindu of the Hindus in religious matters, his thoughts were turned from the concerns of life to contemplation of the other world. His thin intellectual face was said to render his appearance like that of some Italian Pope or Cardinal of the Middle Ages. Almost his last appearance was at the Installation Durbar of the present Maharaja of Gwalior, resembling a spirit of past times, and

hardly recognizable in his attenuated figure. He died on January 9, 1896.

A discriminating appreciation of Dinkar Rao has been recorded by Sir Richard Temple, who knew him personally and his career. He wrote :* “ Dinkar Rao was a Maratha Brahman and an excellent specimen of his caste. He was slight in figure, his features were delicate, his brow lofty ; he had polished manners, his speech was soft, gentle, and persuasive ; his mien indicated that quiet pride which, transmitted through many generations, is characteristic of the Brahmans. Beneath this smooth exterior there lay a masterful temper and an immovable will. He did not learn English, and never assimilated European ideas into his mental constitution. Indeed, in some matters pertaining to social improvement, such as female education, he would probably be found, in heart at least, retrogressive. But in plain matters of administration he was a man of original thought and commanding ability. As Minister he acquired a reputation as high as that of any other Hindu during this generation. His integrity was unquestioned, and he retired into private life with a very moderate competency.”

In another passage in the same book the author wrote of Dinkar Rao as being “ quite original,” rather than Europeanized in his method of administration.

* “ Men and Events of my Time in India,” by Sir Richard Temple, pp. 305, 306.

His tenure of office in the Gwalior State for many years, and especially of the Dewanship for several years, and during the trying times of the Mutiny, stamps him as a native administrator of the highest order. He was also able to impress Sir Alfred Lyall favourably. "I have been much refreshed lately," wrote the latter, "by talking with Raja Dinkar Rao. . . . He is the type of an acute intellectual Hindu."* Sir Mortimer Durand writes, too: "It was my good - fortune . . . to know this remarkable man, to whose sagacity and courage we owed much in the Mutiny."† His selection to be a member of the Court to try the Gaekwar in 1875, and the testimony of high British officials, are sufficient to establish his reputation for all time, and to constitute him a model for imitation by posterity.

2. SIR JOHN STRACHEY (1823-1907).

Within living memory few names have been more prominent in India than that of Sir John Strachey, who died in December, 1907, aged eighty-four. His destiny was India, as he was the grandson of the first Baronet of the family, who was Secretary to Lord Clive in 1764, and his father was a Bengal Civilian.

* "Life of Sir Alfred Lyall," by Sir Mortimer Durand, p. 106, 1913.

† *Ibid.*, p. 107.

Educated at the Haileybury College, he went out to India and joined the North-West Provinces in 1842, about the close of the first Afghan War. He was fortunate in being employed for about ten of the early years of his service in the favourable climate of Kumaon, and in spending many summers in the higher regions of the Himalaya. As Collector of Moradabad in 1860-61 he increased his reputation, already established, as a District Officer by his management of the dreadful famine then raging. He was acting as Commissioner of Kumaon when selected by Lord Canning to preside over a Commission directed to inquire into the cholera epidemic of 1861. Though want of health and strength was an impediment to his activity, it never prevented his knowing his District or the country with which he happened to be concerned. But later in his service his want of personal vigour rendered him hardly equal, physically, to the work devolving on him.

After a short time as Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces he was selected to be the head of the Sanitary Commission in India. This has become a military-medical charge, but in early days the administrative questions connected with sanitation were such as an able Civil Officer could well handle, and Strachey did much to insist on the principles of modern sanitation which, though essential, are never popular either in the large towns

or in rural areas. As Chief Commissioner in Oudh from 1866 to 1868 he had to deal with the important question of the occupancy-rights of tenants, which a special inquiry had shown to be non-existent under native rule up to 1856. A compromise was effected with the landowners, but Strachey admitted afterwards that he was not satisfied with the little good which, hampered by restrictions, he was able to effect.

In the varied offices which he had held Strachey had acquired that general experience, including a knowledge of the country and of the character of its inhabitants, that is so essential as a qualification for high office. Whether the policy is to be the introduction of Western ideas, or a more sympathetic tenderness and regard for native feelings, it is of the utmost importance that knowledge of the facts and circumstances should be acquired by English Officers ; and in this respect they are generally deficient. Strachey's selection to be a member of Lord Lawrence's Supreme Council in 1868 was recognized as the due reward of his service and abilities. While Member in charge of the Home Office, and subsequently of the Revenue Department, and acting for six months as Finance Minister during Sir Richard Temple's absence, he had much influence in the Government, which was wisely exercised, over the internal and financial administration of the country. It is hardly necessary to describe in detail what is

meant by these words. Briefly, every matter of public business requiring determination by the highest authority might form a subject for consideration in the Home Department, which had the more special supervision of certain classes of affairs. He became Lord Mayo's most trusted adviser, and, with his brother Sir Richard, helped to carry out that Viceroy's first step towards financial decentralization—a name which Lord Mayo disliked for his policy, preferring to call it “the development of local taxation.” But taxation is an unwelcome word, whereas decentralization has its recommendations, and is the line of modern developments, as tending to interest the Local Governments and the people in their own affairs more closely than the opposite policy of centralization. A temporary deficiency of the finances in 1869 was met by additional taxation, in the increase of the income-tax, and the strictest economy. An active railway policy was pursued by the extension of railways constructed with State capital, though the mistake was made of adopting the narrow-gauge system, which had afterwards to be corrected.

Strachey was the Senior Member of the Council when Lord Mayo met with his death at the Andamans in February, 1872, and, according to the Statute, held charge as Governor-General during the fortnight which elapsed before Lord Napier of Merchiston, Governor of Madras, could reach Calcutta to assume the office for three months

pending Lord Northbrook's arrival. Strachey's firmness, sagacity, and experience were invaluable to the Government at this crisis. In 1873 he was made a K.C.S.I., and a G.C.S.I. five years later. On Sir William Muir's retirement, in April, 1874, Strachey was obviously indicated as his successor in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West Provinces, to which he belonged and which he knew so well. It was the year of the Bengal famine, when the edict had gone forth from England and from the Governor-General that life was to be saved at all cost, and that Officers would be held personally responsible for any famine deaths which could have been prevented. This policy entailed enormous expenditure, much of which was attributable to the want of communications in the Districts affected by the famine, and to the want of special knowledge of the art of administering famine relief with a combination of efficiency and cheapness.

Strachey could not ignore the partial failure of the crops in the eastern portion of his Province, but on visiting the distressed tract he found that the relief works had degenerated into a monster picnic, so that, to obtain higher wages, labourers were attracted thereto from private employment. He promptly issued orders based on his Moradabad experience, which had the effect of bringing the North-West Provinces famine, such as it was, to an early conclusion without loss of life. His Lieutenant-Governorship was marked by the

confidence reposed in him by all classes, the official and the public. He aimed at no high pressure or sensational measures, but was content, with watchful supervision, to leave people alone wherever he could, and to show force when his action was required. The natives of India prefer, like most people, to be left alone and not be harassed by subordinate officials. He governed quietly but firmly, and was accordingly successful. His departure was greatly regretted when he left the Province to become Finance Minister in the Supreme Council, under Lord Lytton. In that position he had scope for his financial theories—he was, in fact, something of a doctrinaire. He was a confirmed Free Trader on principle, and in announcing an important step, not only towards the abolition of the import duties on cotton goods, but towards complete freedom of trade, he had the opportunity of declaring the principles on which the Government intended to proceed. He was able, accordingly, to abolish entirely the Inland Customs Line, originally 2,500, then still 1,500 miles long, starting from Attock on the Indus across India to the borders of Madras, by means of which taxation was levied on salt and sugar conveyed in the course of trade from one Port of India to another. No greater obstruction to trade in the commonest articles of consumption could have been devised by the ingenuity of man. It is marvellous that it endured for thirty-five years.

Lord Lytton relied greatly on Strachey's advice, and, guided thereby, partly abolished the Cotton Import Duties, in opposition to the majority of the Council; and Strachey in his "India" denies as a foolish calumny that the motive for the abolition was the party purpose of obtaining political support in Lancashire, and not only care for the interests of India. Whether for party purposes or not, the imputation has held the field that the total abolition subsequently effected was carried out in the interests of England.

Concurrently with his policy of Free Trade, without reservation or qualification, Strachey imposed direct taxation in the shape of a Licence Tax—"a limited income tax assessed on a system of classification according to approximate income"—on traders and agriculturists, which it was afterwards intended to extend to the professional and official classes; but the proposal was abandoned. Whether direct taxation is suited to India has often been regarded as open to doubt, but Strachey had none. Rates upon the land were also imposed to cover the liabilities caused by the works constructed to protect the country from famine. It was held that the levy of such rates upon landholders, irrespective of the amount of their land assessment, involved no breach of faith upon the part of the Government, whether as regarded holders of permanent or temporary tenures.

Strachey's occupancy of the Finance Ministry-ship, strong and successful as it was in other respects, was marred by an occurrence which greatly injured the reputations of all concerned. Soon after the “prosperity” Budget of 1880-81 had been passed, with no little flourish of trumpets, it began to transpire that the expenditure on account of the Afghan War had been seriously underestimated. According to the procedure adopted in the Military Department, the estimates had been based on the audited accounts, and not on the Treasury disbursements, so that the progressive accounts conveyed a false and inadequate impression of the facts. That Department had, according to their system, prepared an utterly inadequate estimate of the cost of the war. On account of the defective system in force, the Government were not provided with timely information of the actual current cost of the war. The underestimate of the cost by some twelve millions (for which Strachey declined to receive financial assistance from England) was naturally regarded as a matter of the utmost gravity ; and there were plenty of critics hostile to the whole policy of the Afghan War who were ready to make allegations of a deliberate misstatement on the part of the Government. Such imputations could not have been substantiated.

Lord Lytton's resignation, on the retirement of Lord Beaconsfield's Government in 1880,

was soon followed by the resignation of the Military Member of Council, who held himself responsible for his Departmental error; and Strachey who had in the Financial Department accepted the estimates, adopted the same course. The Secretary of State, Lord Hartington, in his Despatch of November 4, 1880, observed that no attempt was made to compare the actual disbursements with the audited expenditure, and that the failure of the estimates was in no way due to causes which might have been known or foreseen, but to the fact that they rested on no solid foundation either of actual experience or of reasonable opinion. He therefore felt it to be his duty "to place on record the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that the Government of India must be held to have failed in taking measures of ordinary precaution at a time when unusual vigilance was peculiarly required; to have neglected the means at their command for obtaining the materials of trustworthy estimates of the cost of great operations which were being conducted under their orders; and to have given public expression to their confidence in those estimates, for which in such circumstances there was no justification." The incident showed that the ablest officials may be caught napping; a defective system, framed in all good faith, had been adhered to without proper regard to the actual facts, which had only to be stated to be

recognized. The prestige of the Government for infallibility was rudely shaken.

In these circumstances Strachey's departure from India towards the end of December, 1880, was somewhat pathetic, and unlike the success which he had generally achieved. With an intellectual contempt for those who differed from him, he had never courted popularity, and personally was little known, but was generally regarded as an autocratic administrator who avoided publicity, and would disregard opposition. His real strength lay in the influence he acquired with successive Viceroys by his great ability and sound advice. After his retirement he was unemployed officially until he was appointed to the Council of India by Lord Randolph Churchill in 1885, and served in it for the usual period of ten years.

While he was out of employ he wrote, jointly with his brother Sir Richard, "The Finances and Public Works of India," 1882; he delivered lectures on India at Cambridge, and subsequently collected them in his book "India: its Administration and Progress," first published in 1888, reissued in 1894 and 1903; and in 1892 he brought out a volume on "Warren Hastings and the Rohilla War," for the special purpose of correcting the erroneous views of Macaulay, who had followed the prejudiced and misinformed James Mill. In all his writings Strachey showed the great knowledge he had acquired, his logical mind,

literary skill, his power of direct and lucid expression, and his solid grasp of principles. He inculcated his views with remarkable force. Though it is open to anyone to disagree with his views, it is impossible to deny the cogency and clearness with which he stated them. His "India" is a standard work which every student of Indian administration and affairs should constantly consult as a very valuable storehouse of information. It makes no claim to be a history of his career, but it contains his opinions summarized on the whole field of Indian administration. He did not ignore the unpopularity of the Indian Government, or the dangers to which British rule is exposed. He considered it to be the plain duty of the British Government "to govern India with unflinching determination on the principles which our superior knowledge tells us are right, although they may be unpopular." But he was aware, also, that "considerations of political prudence compel us to tolerate much that we should wish to alter, and to abstain from much that we might desire to see accomplished."

3. THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (1826-1902).

Sir Richard Temple has left such ample materials for an account of his career that selection rather than search for them is required.

In some shape or other he recorded every important matter—and there were many—in which he was engaged, either as a participator or protagonist. The story of his life is full of incident and movement, and there is much in it from which his successors can derive instruction and encouragement. It would be easy to compare or contrast him with his contemporary, Sir John Strachey, but I prefer not to adopt such an invidious course; there was room enough on the Indian stage for two performers to play their parts on their own lines, though the spectators might make their comparisons.

Temple tells how he went to India without any influential connection, and without any social advantage beyond his birth as the son of an English country gentleman of good family, and his education at Rugby and Haileybury. His early ambition appears from his admitted day-dreams of following in Bengal in the footsteps of Warren Hastings, like himself a Worcestershire youth. Born in March, 1826, he was nearly twenty-one when he reached Calcutta early in 1847. On landing, he "felt like an insect that has laboriously to ascend the side of a wall." He soon effected a change from Lower Bengal to the North-West Provinces, where he served at various stations. At Muttra and Allahabad he learnt from the beginning the methods of actual administration, passing through the novitiate which every Officer should undergo.

He was specially employed in the registration of land tenures, and was fortunate in the notice taken of him by James Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor, and in receiving his advice.

The merits of his early work induced John Lawrence, then conjointly administering the Panjab, to obtain his transfer to that Province, to carry out the Land Revenue Settlement of the Jullunder District. The work of a young Officer is necessarily limited to his particular charge, but it brings him into direct contact with the people at first hand, and acquaints him with their lives, customs, and characters, and lays the best foundations for employment on a wider field. His literary capacity having attracted attention, Temple was selected to write the first Panjab Administration Report, and to prepare a Civil Code for the Panjab, embodying principles of Hindu and Mahomedan Law. After more District and Settlement work at Gujarat he, after only seven years in India, was chosen to be Secretary to the Panjab Government, when he wrote the Second Administration Report, and became intimately acquainted with all the schemes for the development of the new Province, the Panjab, and reported on the operations, military and political, on the Trans-Indus frontier. His writings conduced greatly to the fame of the Panjab Administration in its early years, after the annexation in 1849.

It was unlucky in some respects for Temple

that he was absent on leave to England at the outbreak of the Mutiny—which he, like everyone else, had failed to foresee—as he felt that he was missing priceless opportunities. In his zeal for the public service he returned to India as soon as he could, and rejoined Sir John Lawrence at Delhi soon after its recapture. Resuming his post as Secretary, he saw many of the treasonable vernacular papers connecting the ex-King of Delhi with the Mutiny. It devolved upon him to inform the last of the Moghuls, then a prisoner, that he was to be tried for his life ; and he wrote Lawrence's report on the Mutiny, attributing, under instruction, the cause to the sense of their power held by the Sepoys. Against his own convictions, he wrote the Despatch in which Lawrence advocated the abandonment of Peshawar.

On Lawrence's retirement Temple considered that he had been long enough in the Secretariat, and should obtain some executive office. He was accordingly made Commissioner of Lahore, in which capacity he had the superintendence of the whole civil administration over a large area. Among other things, it devolved upon him to assist the military authorities when the European soldiers of the East India Company mutinied against their transfer to the Crown, and were allowed their discharge. He had also to deal with the disaffection simmering among both the Mahomedans and the Sikhs.

Some of the latter were convicted and transported. On the occasion of an illumination and pyrotechnic display in honour of the Viceroy at Lahore in 1859 he averted an accident, and wrote that it was never safe in a critical situation to leave a native executive without a European officer in charge.

Early in 1860 Temple was unexpectedly summoned to Calcutta to be Chief Assistant to the new Financial Member of Council, Mr. James Wilson, lately arrived from England. He was thus connected with the introduction of the new Income Tax and the Paper Currency Scheme, and he was chosen to be a member of both the Military and Civil Finance Commissions, also of other Commissions for the reorganization of the Indian Police, and for the investigation of the troubles surrounding the cultivation of indigo in Bengal. On Wilson's death Temple served his successor, Mr. Samuel Laing, in the same capacity, and continued to serve on the roving Commissions. In one of these he recommended the constitution of a Chief Commissionership for British Burma. He had to consider and report upon many matters of political, financial, and military moment, arising from the altered conditions induced by the occurrence of the Mutiny. The versatility of his genius had plenty of scope.

Temple was only thirty-six years of age when, early in 1862, he was appointed to officiate as Chief Commissioner of the newly organized

Central Provinces, receiving rapid and high promotion which would be impossible nowadays. It was a backward Province, which had the name of having been much neglected ; it was poetically described as the “Cinderella of India.” Temple “initiated good government.” A good idea of his methods and work there may be derived from a recent volume, “Many Memories,” by J. H. Rivett Carnac, a cousin on his mother’s side, who served there under him. Temple’s activity in the saddle was really very remarkable. He rode long distances, sixty or seventy miles in the day, in all weathers, and made every part of his Province feel his ubiquity. “I depended partly on my riding for my administrative success,” he wrote. He is described as having been eminently industrious and indefatigable, with an enormous power of work, a model organizer and administrator in a new Province. The same writer dwells on the simplicity of his character, on his never bearing malice or saying a bad word of anyone. In those days the Government of the Central Provinces was maintained at high pressure. He imported Officers, specially chosen, from other Provinces. Through previous neglect every branch of work was in arrears ; he had to push on settlements, sanitation, forest conservancy, education, roads, municipalities, railways, introducing such improvements as he had learnt previously under experienced masters elsewhere. He held an Exhibition at Nagpur for the

encouragement of art and industry, and another at Jubbulpore. In his five years he raised the whole administration to a very different standard from that which it had attained before, and his Rāj (rule) is still vividly remembered.

Transferred on promotion to fill a vacancy in the post of Resident at the Court of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, Temple had henceforth political work generally to perform, though the civil administration of Berar required his supervision, as an area of territory belonging to the Nizam, which was assigned to the British Government to pay for the maintenance of the Hyderabad Contingent, the surplus revenue after payment of all expenditure being credited to the Nizam. The Resident's main business was "to conduct the relations of the British Government with the Nizam, and to secure the stability of His Highness's realm by decent administration." The Minister was Sir Salar Jang, of whom I shall be writing separately. Temple found the Nizam very jealous of the Minister, who was unable to leave Hyderabad. On the Resident's part tact and firmness were required, and thereby Temple obtained the Nizam's consent to the continuation of the railway from the Bombay frontier to Hyderabad.

His short tenure of the Residency—only nine months—led to his appointment in 1868 to the Foreign Secretaryship to the Government of India, under his old Panjab Chief, John

Lawrence, then Viceroy. He had hardly picked up the threads of his departmental work, including the complicated relations of the British Government with the Amir of Afghanistan, when he was appointed from England to be the Finance Minister of the Government of India, the first Indian officer to attain to this distinction under its new position in the Government. The duties of a Finance Minister must be of much the same character, whether he is so called, or designated Chancellor of the Exchequer, or known by some other title. It devolved then upon Temple to be responsible for the finances of India for the six years from April, 1868, to April, 1874, with the exception of the six months in 1869, during which Sir John Strachey acted for him while absent on sick leave. Looking far ahead, with the anticipation of a possible fall in the value of silver in India, he advocated the introduction of a gold standard, with legal tender, into the country. The proposal was not accepted at the time ; it remained for the Government of a subsequent generation to adopt this measure, which, if introduced when Temple proposed it, would have saved the country millions of money.

With Lawrence he concurred in the necessity of an Income Tax for the safety of Indian finance ; but the necessary legislation was not passed until Lord Mayo had become Viceroy and signified his agreement with his predecessor and Temple. By means thereof he just gained an equilibrium

between Income and Expenditure in his first Budget. During his absence on leave in England the estimates of the Budget appeared likely to fail, and later in the year the rate of the Income Tax was doubled for the second half of the year. He also reduced the interest on a portion of the Government Securities held by the public, always an unpopular measure ; and he broached a project of life insurance by the State for the natives, but without result. The Income Tax was abolished by the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, in the spring of 1873—that is, the Annual Legislative Act required was not renewed. But Temple's financial work was recognized by the extension of his appointment in Council for an extra year. The surplus obtained in each of his five Budgets had aggregated six and a half millions sterling.

When the crops failed in Lower Bengal and Behar in 1873, owing to the early cessation of the monsoon rains, and Sir George Campbell's health broke down, Temple was appointed to be Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, thus actually succeeding Warren Hastings, *longo intervallo*, as he had fondly dreamt of doing. Before assuming charge he was deputed by the Viceroy to superintend the famine-relief operations under the Government of Bengal. Becoming Lieutenant-Governor in April, 1874, he was mainly engaged that year in combating the famine, more particularly in Behar. He spared no personal exertion, and travelled about continually. He was accused of

magnifying the famine for his own purposes. In truth, the scandal of the immense mortality in Orissa from famine in 1866-67 had induced the highest authorities in England and India to lay down the principle that every effort to save life was to be made on this occasion ; the corollary was that no limit could be imposed on the expenditure. The circumstances were novel : there were no railways in the heart of the affected Districts, communications were bad, the supplies and resources in the country were unknown, and the operations of private trade could not be depended upon. By Temple's personal exertion and example very few lives were lost ; the measures, however—chiefly the importation of food-grain and its transport—cost over six millions, so that a great outcry of alleged waste arose. Experience was gained which resulted in the compilation of a Famine Code, the systematization of famine-relief, and economy for the future. The political effect of the measures of 1874 was great in exhibiting the sympathy of the Government for the suffering people.

For the next two years Temple governed Lower Bengal with energy. He adopted a practice of recording minutes on every subject to which he attached special interest ; therein he summarized the facts and laid down his policy. They embraced a variety of topics, and remain as records of his rule. He promoted much legislation for the Province, and took a

large personal share in it. He passed, in advance of the time, a very liberal measure for the administration of Calcutta, which Lord Curzon modified in 1899. He received the then Prince of Wales with all honour at Belvedere and Bankipur. While attending at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi (for the proclamation of the title of Empress of India) Temple was suddenly appointed Famine Delegate from the Government of India to Bombay and Madras, to advise on the famine-relief operations which, it was apprehended, were being conducted in some parts without due regard to economy and efficiency. Until the end of April he travelled about the famine area with his usual activity, inspecting and reporting ; and on May 1, 1877, assumed the Governorship of Bombay, to which he had been promoted. The Presidency and its politics were not unknown to him, as, while employed in the Central Provinces, he had learnt them to some extent. Soon he had visited every District and many of the principal Native States within his jurisdiction, from the farthest boundaries of Sind to the extreme south. He adopted his old system of recording his views in official minutes. In the despatch of Indian troops to Malta in 1878 he showed enormous energy, and on the outbreak of the Afghan War he afforded great assistance to the military movements, and pushed on the railways in the direction of Quetta. While administering the Govern-

ment of Bombay with great vigour and success, he was invited by the Conservatives to contest the East Division of Worcestershire, his own county. He sped homewards for the purpose in March, 1880, but was unsuccessful in his candidature. Subsequently he obtained a seat for the Evesham Division, and later for the Kingston Division of Surrey ; but his career in England does not fall within my limits.

In India few Officers in high place ever exhibited greater zeal, or laboured more strenuously throughout their service. His riding maintained his health and energy. In administration he had learnt from great masters lessons which he practised personally and enforced on others. Never sparing himself, he expected everyone else to work equally hard. No business in his hands was likely to suffer for want of adequate attention to it. In his personal qualities ambition perhaps predominated, and to this everything was subordinated. It is recorded that his kindness of heart, geniality, and moderation made him generally popular throughout his career. He was made a C.S.I. in 1866, a K.C.S.I. in 1867, a Baronet in 1876 for his services in the Bengal famine, and a G.C.S.I. in 1878. After retirement he wrote a number of books, full of his Indian experiences.

4. SIR TANJORE MADHAVA RAO (1828-1891).

There is, perhaps, no Hindu who is better remembered, or more highly esteemed for his merits as a modern administrator, than the late Sir Tanjore Madhava Rao. Though he died twenty-two years ago, he is still spoken of with the greatest respect by Englishmen and natives alike. When he died, a leading vernacular paper wrote of "this ripe and talented statesman," and of the "constructive ability, independence, and tact with which he was so largely endowed, and which guided him to such success as rarely crowned the career of any other native in the public service since the establishment of British supremacy in this country."

He had one great advantage in his start in life under favourable circumstances, but the start might not have carried him far if it had not been for the sterling qualities of his personality. He came of a Maharashtra Brahman family which had settled at Tanjore in the sixteenth century. Some of its members were in their generations engaged in official services. It is recorded * that his great-grandfather, Gopal Pant, and his grandfather, Gundo Pant, held important posts both under Native Chiefs and from the British. His uncle, Venkat Rao, and his father, Runga Rao, were successively Dewans (Prime Ministers) of

* "A Native Statesman," *Calcutta Review*, 1872, vol. lv., p. 227.

Travancore. When the latter retired from the State and died, Madhava was the youngest of his three sons.

He was born, in 1828, at Kumbakonam, "claimed by its friends as the Cambridge of the South" of India, in the Tanjore district of the Madras Presidency, and received his education at the Government High School and Presidency College at Madras, under the renowned Mr. Powell, C.S.I., pursuing his mathematical and scientific studies with remarkable industry, perseverance, and singleness of purpose, which met with their due reward. During the six years of his education he once acted for Mr. Powell, for a short period, as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. In 1846 he was admitted to a First Class Proficients' Degree, and for two years, from 1847, served in the Accountant-General's office, which was a good preparation for official life.

When an instructor was required to teach English to the two nephews of the Maharaja of Travancore and superintend their education, Madhava Rao, though only twenty-one, was unanimously selected by the highest Madras officials in July, 1849, for the responsible task, and discharged his duties as tutor for four years so ably that in 1853 he was appointed to be an Assistant to the Dewan of Travancore in the Revenue Office, and was promoted to be a Dewan Peshkar in 1855. In this capacity he was de-

puted, at his own suggestion, to the charge of the Southern Division of the State, comprising the portion from which complaints of maladministration had most frequently been submitted to the Madras Government. His suggestions were readily accepted by the Maharaja, and he was able to remove the corruptions which had discredited the Travancore administration. Within a year he made many reforms, called forth order out of disorder, distributed even justice without fear or favour, expelled dacoits, revised the revenue, showing throughout the excellence of his views and principles. The Maharaja, and even hostile Christian missionaries, acknowledged the merits of his administration.

The Travancore State was passing through a period of great danger to its independence. Complaints of maladministration had become so loud and insistent that the Madras Government were disposed to enter upon a formal investigation. The Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, threatened much stronger action ; the Court of Directors agreed with the Madras Government. Before a decision was arrived at, Lord Dalhousie retired ; the Mutiny of 1857 broke out, and action on the Travancore question was postponed.

On the death of the Dewan, Krishna Rao, in November, 1857, Madhava Rao, though the junior Peshkar, was selected, over the head of his senior, by the Maharaja as the successor. The Resident wrote that "Madhava Rao's cor-

rect principles, his character for intelligence and energy, his perfect knowledge of English, and the considerable experience he has already acquired in the administration of the laws of Travancore, together with a well-grounded knowledge of the Company's Regulations, all point him out for the office," and in due course the acting appointment was confirmed. On taking charge of the office he found much mismanagement and many bad practices prevailing in the State. Madhava Rao was then in his thirtieth year, and during the next fourteen years (1858-1872) so administered the State, as Dewan with unrestricted powers, that it became a model of native good government. He perceived that "it is in the gradual and judicious extension in the Native States of the general principles of government which are applied in British territory that their Rulers will find the surest guarantee of their administrative independence, and the best safeguard against intervention on the part of the Paramount Power." It was his cherished wish to provide for every subject within a couple of hours' journey the advantages of a doctor, a schoolmaster, a judge, a magistrate, a registering officer, and a postmaster. "His extraordinary natural talents, combined with an excellent education and intimacy with men in high circles, had enabled him early to study the great problems of social statics, to value all enlightened and progressive movements, and to form a sound and

unprejudiced judgment in a manner more than amply to make up for the immaturity of years. His task was by no means easy or even ordinarily difficult."

Travancore is a Native State on the South Malabar coast of India in relations with the Government of Madras, by whom the British Resident in Travancore is appointed. Its area exceeds 7,000 square miles, and its population is about three millions. Its gross revenue exceeds a crore of rupees (£666,000). Before Madhava Rao was appointed Dewan, the whole State had become disorganized ; carelessness and tyranny were rampant ; the Treasury was empty ; the British subsidy was unpaid ; the public service and the Courts of Justice were corrupt. There were disturbances in the South, arising from a caste question between Shanars and Sudras. Tranquillity was restored by the Dewan on the spot, and changes introduced to prevent recurrence of the troubles. He settled a long-standing cause of ill-feeling between the Brahmans and Shanars, but did not interfere with the expenditure for charitable purposes or for feeding of the Brahmans.

The British Resident was changed in 1859-60, a Madras civilian, Mr. Maltby, being appointed to the post. A new Maharaja, Rama Varma, succeeded in 1860. With the new Resident and a young Ruler, Madhava Rao was able to make good progress in his fiscal as well as in other re-

forms. In the nine years, 1861-1870, the revenue receipts rose from 43 to 51 lakhs of rupees (£286,600 to £340,000). The pepper monopoly was abolished, an export duty being substituted ; the tobacco monopoly was similarly treated, which facilitated the growth of its import under a duty, imposed on all dealers ; the import and export duties were reduced all round ; a number of vexatious minor taxes were swept away ; he adopted a Free Trade policy for the State. In 1865 a Commercial Treaty was concluded with the British Government, by which the Travancore trade was greatly relieved and benefited. By this interportal agreement the Travancore Customs revenue was reduced, but the British Government agreed to pay as compensation the revenue realized in British Indian Ports on foreign produce re-exported to Travancore. Madhava Rao raised the salaries of the public servants, including the Police and the Judiciary, in order to obtain honesty and efficiency, and their work was more closely supervised. Education was placed on a better footing by the establishment of English High Schools, Vernacular Schools, Girls' Schools, and an Arts' College, at considerable cost. A Public Works Department was organized, and large sums of money were spent on trunk and branch roads, canals, dams, bridges, public offices, and a lighthouse. The British laws were introduced into the State, a Chief Justice was appointed, and

able men were selected for the judicial posts. Medical institutions were established and developed throughout the State ; vaccination was introduced. The money available for these purposes was reduced by the amount which, according to State practice and to public demand, had to be spent, as stated, on the feeding of Brahmans, and on religious ceremonies ; also charitable and religious institutions were maintained. The improvements effected did not prevent the acquisition of an annual surplus and large cash balances. The land revenue rose gradually under a new survey and settlement, conducted with moderation in the assessment ; coffee, tea, and cinchona gardens were laid out, European planters were welcomed ; the produce of the cocoanut palm was utilized and made profitable. A contemporary* writer sums up Madhava Rao's work thus : "Indeed, he found Travancore in the lowest stage of degradation and political disintegration ; he has left it 'a model Native State.' He has done a great work. He has earned an imperishable name in India."

Not only was the idea of enforcing Treaty obligations abandoned on account of his excellent work, but he gained the reputation of having done in Travancore what Pericles did for Athens and Cromwell for England. The Governor of Madras, Lord Napier of Merchis-

* "A Native Statesman," *Calcutta Review*, 1872, vol. lv., p. 261.

toun, in investing him with the Order of the K.C.S.I. in 1866, said to him, "The mission in which you are engaged has more than a local and transitory significance. Remember that the spectacle of a good Indian Minister, serving a good Indian Sovereign, is one which may have a lasting influence on the policy of England and on the future of Native Governments." He was also made a Fellow of the University of Madras. Unfortunately, in 1872, after fourteen years in the Dewanship, in consequence of misunderstandings with the Maharaja, he resigned his appointment as Dewan, and retired on a pension of £800 a year. He declined, for private reasons, the offer of a seat in the Governor-General's Legislative Council. He did not accept an invitation offered him to give his evidence before a Committee on Indian Finance in London. In 1873, being still in the possession of full vigour and energy, and distinguished for his exceptional abilities as a sound and successful administrator, he was appointed Dewan to the Maharaja Tukaji Rao Holkar II. of Indore (1832-1886), a Maratha Prince, who wanted help in the administration of his State. He did all that could be done in two years, but there was not time to revolutionize the government as he had done, and could do again, elsewhere.

On the proposal of the Government of India, the Secretary of State in England agreed to

Madhava Rao being invited, with the consent of the Maharaja of Indore, to conduct the administration of the Baroda State, from which the Gaekwar, Mulhar Rao, was deposed by Proclamation on April 29, 1875. He was formally installed as Minister of the Baroda State on August 16, 1875, and was given the title of Raja. The Special Commissioner for Baroda Affairs was Sir Richard Meade, who had succeeded Sir Lewis Pelly on April 10, 1875; and he remained in office until he made over charge to Mr. P. S. Melvill, C.S.I., as Agent to the Governor-General on November 18, 1875. The late Dr. T. H. Thornton, at one time officiating Foreign Secretary, writes* of Madhava Rao as the best and ablest Marathi-speaking statesman the Government could find for the Baroda State—"a man of rare intelligence, indomitable powers of work, a perfect knowledge of English, great administrative experience, very liberal ideas combined with intense loyalty to the British Government, and the highest character for probity." Lord Northbrook's intention was that Madhava Rao should have much the same position as Sir Salar Jang had at Hyderabad, with the difference which followed from the Treaty engagements with Baroda, giving the British Government greater power to interfere, if necessary, with internal affairs than the Treaties with the Nizam allowed. Madhava

* "Life of Sir Richard Meade," p. 227.

Rao had to encounter many serious difficulties at Baroda, as the whole State was then in a condition of serious disorganization.

With the British officers at Baroda Madhava Rao always cordially co-operated. In the exercise of his powers as Prime Minister, Madhava Rao, possessing the advantage of a somewhat similar experience in Travancore, adopted the following programme: "To maintain public order and tranquillity with firmness and moderation ; to redress the accumulated complaints arising out of past maladministration, whether of Sirdars, bankers, ryots, or others ; to establish a proper and sufficient machinery for the dispensation of justice in all its branches ; to provide a Police commensurate with the extent of the country and the density and character of the population ; to provide for the execution of necessary or useful public works ; to promote popular education ; to provide suitable medical agencies for the benefit of the people ; to reduce the burden of taxation where it is excessive, to readjust taxes where they require to be readjusted, and to abolish such as are totally objectionable ; to enforce economy in expenditure, restrain waste, reduce extravagance, and prevent losses resulting from corruption and malversation ; to quietly strengthen the executive establishments."

The fundamental principle was recognized that the object of Government is to promote the happiness of all classes alike. He took definite

action in certain directions. Firstly, he reformed the revenue administration by overthrowing the system under which certain nobles, called Sirdars, farmed the revenue and underlet their farms. He made them sell those rights, and attached their rights over land by enforcing payment of their debts to the State. The land revenue was simplified by the introduction of the ryotwari system. He disbanded a useless regiment. He organized the whole machinery of Government, renovated the city of Baroda by establishing Courts, offices, schools, parks, and museums, and enforcing sanitation ; and he abolished infructuous taxes. He claimed to have fulfilled the primary obligations of a civilized Government. On the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Gaekwar's "Maharaja's School" on October 18, 1875, Madhava Rao made a remarkable speech, saying : * "What we have just witnessed is an unmistakable practical recognition on the part of the State of one of the most signal necessities of a progressive age—the necessity of combining wisdom with power. It is an unequivocal recognition of the capital fact that the right exercise of regal functions requires long previous preparation. The ceremony has a further significance of high political importance. It is the outcome of a genuine desire on the part of the British Government to preserve and perpetuate Native

* "Life of Sir Richard Meade," by Dr. T. H. Thornton, p. 240.

Principalities as useful members of the Imperial system. England repudiates ignorance as a basis of strength or stability. England is not the Power that seeks security from darkness. England desires to be a great illuminating agent, and bids Princes and people alike be enlightened and happy.

“ This bright and bracing morning is, I hope, typical of the new career, the foundation of which has just been laid. It is an auspicious circumstance that the foundation has been laid by the hand of ripe wisdom and enlarged experience—the hand that has done many a beneficent deed during thirty long years—the hand equally powerful to wield the sword of the soldier, the pen of the statesman, and, as now witnessed, the trowel of the mason !

“ There is every reason to feel the sanguine hope that the young Maharaja, who has already given indications of uncommon capacity, will therein, under God’s blessing, make acquisitions infinitely more precious than the gems shining resplendent on his breast—that he will realize the ideal of a wise and virtuous ruler of a regenerated kingdom. Permit me now to offer to all present the thanks of the Maharaja and the Maharani for the friendly sympathy you have manifested by your participation in this ceremony.”

Madhava Rao was Dewan when King Edward, as Prince of Wales, visited Baroda in his Indian tour of 1875-76. He was made a

Fellow of the Bombay University. When the Gaekwar was formally invested with full powers over the Baroda State on December 28, 1881, Madhava Rao, having brought the administration into an efficient state, continued to hold the position for a year. But in 1883 he resigned, and received a handsome honorarium in lieu of pension. Some critics of his administration at Baroda declared that he yielded without protest whenever the Imperial Government thought fit to interfere, and that he was not strong enough to resist the demands of the Supreme Power. As a fact, he did constantly offer many vigorous and statesman-like protests, but the superior position of the British Government carried the day, and he submitted with good grace. In his retirement he lived in Madras, and continued to keep himself abreast of important Indian questions of the time, and the public movements, political and social. He spoke strongly in support of British rule in India, as affording the best government the country ever had. He read widely and advocated social reforms, avoiding extreme views. In 1884 he contributed a number of communications to the *Madras Times* about the advance of Russia towards India, against which he thought precautionary measures should be taken, signing himself "A Native Thinker," and "A Native Observer."

He pointed out the great mistake of supposing that the political was the only sphere available,

and urged that in other spheres immense good might be done with much less trouble, and at much smaller cost, and in less time. He instanced the promotion of public health, public comfort and public taste, and the removal of the ignorance of the great masses of the people, from which they suffer infinitely more than from all other causes.

Besides contributing to the local newspapers, he wrote on scientific subjects; otherwise, he published little. A pamphlet of "Hints on the Training of Native Children" was by his hand. Occasionally he made speeches. Thus in his address on the anniversary of Pacheapah's Charities on August 15, 1883, he declared himself to be a warm friend and well-wisher of the Native States. "I ardently desire that they should exist in perpetuity, as so many sources of usefulness, of strength, and of honour to the British Government. If they are to exist as such, if they are to exist at all for any long period, their Rulers should cease to be ignorant despots, and their subjects should cease to be ignorant men. Indeed, education is even more necessary to a Native State than to a British Indian Province, inasmuch as the highest functions of government in Native States are performed by natives, whereas British Indian Provinces have the benefit of European supervision." On another occasion he spoke in favour of female education, and more than once he advocated the cause of educated natives.

In 1884 he delivered a eulogistic speech on Lord Ripon's rule in India. In 1885 he presided over the Malabar Land Tenure Commission, and in 1887 delivered the Address to the Graduates at the Annual Convocation of the Madras University. He also joined the Indian National Congress, and in the same year, as a friend, welcomed the Delegates of the Congress to the City of Madras, and advised them to be moderate and forbearing. Later he advocated the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, which was commenced in 1892 and extended in 1909. He ranged himself on the side of cautious reform in social matters, and made no secret of his opinion that the customs of infant marriage and enforced widowhood were baneful, and required correction at the hands of the Legislature.

He was again invited in 1888 to become a nominated additional member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, but his advancing age and failing health prevented his acceptance of the offer. In December, 1890, he had a stroke of paralysis, and on April 4, 1891, he died at Madras.

Perhaps the best testimony to Madhava Rao's capacity and character has been recorded by the late Sir Richard Temple,* as follows :

"Next after Dinkar Rao, the most notable

* "Men and Events of my Time in India," by Sir R. Temple, p. 306.

Hindu administrator of the time is Madhava Rao, the Minister of the Baroda State, also a Brahman, but a man of a totally different type. His conduct in private and public life is exemplary, while his ability is of a high order. By reason of his excellent attainments in English, his comprehensive experience and his large acquaintance with public affairs, he is, on the whole, the best-informed native in India. He is enlightened in respect to all matters of improvement; but perhaps in his heart he hardly approves of some among the social reforms which are now advocated. He first won fame as the Minister for Travancore, then for a time he was in Holkar's service, and lastly became Minister of Baroda. He found that State seriously disordered by the late Gaekwar Mulhar Rao, an infamous ruler, but he brought it within a few years into a condition of much prosperity."

Thus, whatever other success he may be regarded as having attained, he certainly gained the highest reputation as a native administrator of Native States under trying circumstances.

5. NAWAB SIR SALAR JANG (1829-1883).

After describing the careers of two English and two Hindu statesmen, it is somewhat of a change to turn to the life of the greatest Indian Mahomedan statesman of the age, who was universally known as Sir Salar Jang, though his

real name was Mir Turab Ali Khan. He was born* in Hyderabad, Deccan, on January 2, 1829, the son of Mir Muhammad Ali Khan, a scion of a noble family which came in the middle of the seventeenth century from Medina in Arabia, and settled at Hyderabad. His grandfather, Munir-ul-Mulk, and great-grandfather, Mir Alam, had been in the service of the Nizam as Ministers of State since 1784, and his uncle, Siraj-ul-Mulk, was appointed Minister on the resignation of Chandu Lall (1766-1845), the great Hindu Minister who ruled Hyderabad for about thirty-five years. Salar Jang was, therefore, so to speak, born in the purple, and destined for preferment in Hyderabad. In his early youth he lost his father, but he was educated† under European supervision, and specially trained for the office he was so early to assume. His education was privately conducted for some seven years, in which he studied Persian, Arabic, and English. His studies were not continuous, and he showed no marked aptitude for intellectual pursuits.

At the age of twenty he was appointed to be a Talukdar, that is, a revenue official in charge of a portion of the State. In the course of his eight months' tenure of the

* "A Memoir of Sir Salar Jang, G.C.S.I.," by Syed Hossain Bilgrami, 1883, p. 2. "Representative Indians," by G. Paramaswaram Pillai, p. 311.

† "Life of Sir R. Meade," by Dr. T. H. Thornton, p. 268.

post he studied the land revenue system. When his uncle died, in 1853, every department of the State was out of proper order, and the credit of the State had sunk so low that the bankers refused to grant loans. The Treaty of May 21 of that year with the British Government was executed shortly before Siraj-ul-Mulk's death. Its object was, after confirming all previous Treaties and Agreements in force, to provide for the maintenance by the British Government of (in addition to the subsidiary forces) an auxiliary force called the Hyderabad Contingent. To provide also for the payment of this force and of other charges, the Nizam assigned in trust certain districts in Berar, etc., estimated to yield a gross revenue of fifty lakhs of rupees (£333,300). Any surplus revenue, after payment of the charges, was to be paid to the Nizam. The Contingent was to cease to be part of the Nizam's army. The points of this Treaty are worth noting, as the recovery of Berar was the great object of Salar Jang's life. The Treaty was, at any rate, preferred by the Nizam of the day to the disbandment of the Contingent, which was the alternative offered.

When Salar Jang succeeded his uncle as Minister in 1853, at the age of twenty-four—the same age as the younger Pitt when he became Prime Minister of England—the Hyderabad State was in need of a strong hand. Its condition was deplorable. The Treasury was empty.

The revenue administration required thorough reform. The State was deeply in debt, and there were heavy claims against it. Salar Jang had great difficulties to contend with. As a Mahomedan of the Shiah Sect he differed from the Nizam and his family, who were Sunnis, a difference which always exposed him to attack. The sectarian animosities, it has been said,* between the Sunni and the Shiah in the East are even more pronounced than those between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Western countries. He disbanded large bodies of Arab troops and other foreign mercenaries whose services were not required, and he controlled the Arabs throughout the State, removing them from the service, investigating their claims, and resuming lands improperly held by them. In the course of a year he refilled the Treasury by various measures, which afforded great relief to the authorities and stopped the misappropriation practised by middlemen; he endeavoured to reorganize the Police force, established a Public Works Department with English engineers in charge, and devoted large sums of money to education. He abolished transit duties, subdued robber chieftains, and put down lawlessness. He had to deal with a turbulent element which had been a constant source of danger at the Capital, and he carried

* "Life of Sir R. Meade," by Dr. T. H. Thornton, p. 271.

through all his reforms — perhaps not as thoroughly or as speedily as he desired — although he was the object of jealousy and intrigues from every quarter.*

During the Mutiny of 1857 the maintenance of order at Hyderabad was important for the success of the military operations in the Deccan and Central India. The hopes of the disaffected were excited by the succession of a new Nizam. On his death-bed, on August 18, 1857, Nasir-ud-Daula counselled his son Afzal-ud-Daula to remain faithful to the English, who had always been so friendly to himself. Even the disasters experienced for a time by the English never shook the loyalty of the Nizam and his Minister. The latter's life was in danger throughout this trying period. His stanch attitude and confidence in the eventual success of the British Power proved his sagacity. On July 17, 1857, an attack was made on the Residency, but was repulsed. The efforts of the Resident, Colonel Davidson, to preserve order were ably seconded by Salar Jang, who sent timely warning of the coming attack to the Residency. Throughout the whole time he rendered invaluable services to the Indian Government, and through his influence Central India, the Deccan, and Hyderabad, remained loyal. By his advice the Nizam at once decided to throw in his lot with the British Government, and the dying Chief's

* Aitchison's "Treaties," edition 1909, vol. ix., p. 9.

injunction to his son and successor was honourably observed.

After the Mutiny Salar Jang's services were cordially acknowledged by the British Government: he received a *khillut* (robe of honour) worth £3,000, and was officially informed that "the ability, courage, and firmness with which he had discharged his duty to the Nizam and to the British Government, and opposed and frustrated those counsels which might have brought disgrace and ruin on His Highness, were highly appreciated, and entitled him to the most cordial thanks of the Government of India." But, it must be admitted, his loyalty to his master and the Government had made him unpopular. At least on two occasions, in 1860 and 1868, his life was attempted, but the shots and swords of the assassins alike failed. On the latter occasion Salar Jang begged the Nizam, though in vain, for the murderer's life.

Difficulties having arisen under the Treaty of 1853, a new Treaty was concluded in December, 1860, to remove them. By it the debt of fifty lakhs (£333,300), due by the Nizam, was cancelled; certain territory was restored to him, and it was agreed that the remaining Assigned Districts in Berar should be held in trust by the British Government for the purposes specified in the Treaty of 1853, but that no demand for accounts of the receipts or expenditure of the Districts

should be made. The restoration of certain Districts was not regarded by Salar Jang as a final and adequate reward. "The hope* was ever before him that, by justifying the confidence and earning the respect of the English, he would ultimately succeed in crowning his tenure of office by placing at the foot of his Prince the restituted Province of Berar."

In 1861 an intrigue was started locally to procure the removal of Salar Jang from the post of Prime Minister. Owing to a disagreement the Nizam resolved to remove him, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Resident. But the British Government refused to countenance the measure, and Salar Jang was maintained in office. Differences again rose between the Nizam and his Minister in 1867, but were eventually arranged, and Salar Jang continued to hold the office of which he had felt himself compelled to tender his resignation. The opportunity was taken to impress upon the Nizam the advisability of giving his entire confidence to a Minister who had ruled the State with so much ability, and to point out the serious consequences which a relapse into misrule would entail on the Hyderabad State. Salar Jang was made a Knight Commander of the Star of India, and formally gazetted to a personal salute of seventeen guns for life in Her Majesty's Order in Council, dated June 26, 1867, and he was

* "Life of Sir R. Meade," by Dr. T. H. Thornton, p. 274.

further created a Knight Grand Commander of the same Order on May 28, 1870.*

In spite of his difficulties, Salar Jang had continued on his course of reform. He discharged his duties with unwearying assiduity, entire integrity, and an efficiency unprecedented in the Deccan. “He† was a gentleman in the highest sense of the term ; the quality of his mind was indicated in his discreet manner and refined aspect.” During the lifetime of the Nizam Afzal-ud-Daula he was hardly a free agent. He was kept‡ by the Nizam in a state of thraldom ; he was almost a prisoner in his own house, and could not move beyond the outer gates of his courtyard without his master’s permission. Through his inability to leave Hyderabad—he never left it until 1870 for a single day—many of his reforms were imperfectly carried out, and some maladministration in the interior of the country remained unchecked. He was made to feel thoroughly subdued in the presence of the Nizam, the term “presence” was to his ear an awe-inspiring sound, and for him his master had a quiet look of ineffable hauteur. He shared the reverence which his countrymen felt for their Ruler, and was perfectly loyal.

The same writer ascribed this treatment to the Nizam’s jealousy of the Minister. “Salar Jang,§ being an enlightened man, was anxious to intro-

* Aitchison’s “Treaties,” edition of 1909, vol. ix., p. 11.

† “Men and Events of my Time in India,” by Sir Richard Temple, p. 288. ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.*, p. 289.

duce good government into a distracted and well-nigh ruined State. In that policy he was consistently supported by the British Government. The Nizam therefore felt himself to be really under the control of his Minister in all State affairs ; then, chafing and fretting at this, he revenged himself by punctiliously enforcing a supervision in social matters.” Sir Richard Temple adds* also, “A long chain of circumstances had gradually strengthened the Minister’s position and rendered it proof against the intrigues of his opponents. . . . He was not answerable for the utter mismanagement which had caused to the Nizam the loss of power in Berar, when that Province was brought under British management. He had since that time striven manfully to reform every part of the administration, the land revenue, the dispensing of justice, the Police, and, above all, the finances. Without evincing forceful energy of the highest kind, he was full of activity and promptitude. Though his temperament was nervous and susceptible of agitation, still he was resolute, capable of maintaining self-command in danger, and animated by the spirit which might be expected in a man of high birth. His sensitive disposition, harassed by many trials and troubles, would probably have worn out his body had it been feeble ; but his frame, though not robust,

* “Men and Events of my Time in India,” by Sir R. Temple, p. 289.

was wiry. As an administrator he certainly was not superior—by many he would be thought hardly equal—to the two best Hindu Ministers of his day, Dinkar Rao of Gwalior and Madhava Rao of Baroda ; but as a man of business, especially in finance, he has not been surpassed by any native in this century. His official assiduity and mastery of details left nothing to be desired. It was difficult to discern whether he possessed original ability of the Oriental type, because his mind was modelled very much by European influences. At all events, he was an excellent imitator. Whatever improvements the British Government introduced, he would sooner or later adopt, *longo intervallo* perhaps, but still with some effect. Thus roads, caravanserais, medical schools, drains and conservancy, besides many miscellaneous improvements, all had a share of his attention. He exercised his vast patronage well, appointing competent and respectable men to civil offices, and endeavouring to infuse an honest fidelity into the whole service of the State. That he fully succeeded in these efforts is more than can be affirmed . . . he had many enemies, open or concealed, much hostile opinion, and a jealous master, all arrayed against him. Upon a retrospect of the circumstances under which he had to act, it seems wonderful that so much was accomplished by him. The Nizam's Government was oppressed by its debts, which had been incurred in many quarters at

many rates of interest, all more or less ruinous. Salar Jang attempted something like an unification of the debts, the object being to establish such confidence that with its improved credit his Government might raise fresh loans at moderate rates ; and this he effected to a considerable extent." Compared with contemporary statesmen among the natives of India, Sir Richard Temple thought that Salar Jang had become Europeanized in his method of administration.

On the death of the Nizam Afzal-ud-Daula, in February, 1869, his only son, Mir Mahbub Ali Khan (the late Nizam), then not three years of age, was placed on the throne by the British Resident, and the joint administration of affairs during the young Nizam's minority was entrusted to Salar Jang and his colleague as co-Regents. It then became open to Salar Jang to travel about, and as the Resident had more direct influence the general aspect of affairs in Hyderabad improved.

In 1874 Salar Jang, having enjoyed a free hand for some time, began to question the validity of the rights of suzerainty which had been exercised by the British Government more or less during the nineteenth century, and presented to the Government a demand for the disbandment of the Hyderabad Contingent, and the restoration of Berar to the Nizam. He even questioned the validity of the Treaties of 1853 and 1860. His demand was fully considered, and he was told

in reply that the validity of the Treaties could not be questioned, nor could Berar be restored. In his efforts Salar Jang had the sympathy of a number of leading Englishmen. In 1876 he visited England, in the prosecution of his claims for the restoration of Berar, which was the ambition of his life ; but he was altogether unsuccessful. He received the honorary D.C.L. degree from Oxford, was presented with the freedom of the City of London, and was most courteously entertained by the highest in the land, from Queen Victoria downwards ; but he met with no official encouragement of his claims. On his return to India he resumed the administration of Hyderabad affairs. On the eve of starting for the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi of January 1, 1877, he presented to the Resident an identical memorial to his previous one, demanding the restoration of Berar and the disbandment of the Hyderabad Contingent. After some courteous discussion, he was induced to present another memorial couched in temperate and friendly language, which was considered after the Assemblage, but he achieved no better success. The Secretary of State declined to accede to the memorial, and Salar Jang fully accepted the decision.

Under British administration the revenue of Berar greatly increased, and a large surplus was paid over to the Hyderabad State under the Treaty provisions up to the time of their re-

vision in 1902. At the Assemblage itself Salar Jang expressed hearty congratulations to Her Majesty on behalf of the Nizam and other Princes.

In 1877 capital was obtained in England through a company for the construction of the Nizam's State Railways. On the death of the co-Regent, in 1877, Salar Jang submitted that there was no necessity to appoint a successor, but the Viceroy appointed the Vikar-ul-Umara as co-administrator, and Salar Jang accepted him.

During the Afghan War of 1878-1880 Salar Jang and his colleague promptly offered military assistance to the Government of India, and some of the Contingent cavalry were employed on the campaign. Henceforth the attitude and conduct of the Minister left nothing to be desired. In 1882 a number of administrative reforms in the State were proposed by him, embracing a general reorganization of all the departments, and during the course of the year the new system was introduced, with certain exceptions which were postponed. A proposal that the Nizam should visit England was being arranged, but came to nothing in consequence of Salar Jang's death from cholera on February 8, 1883, aged fifty-four. The lamentations on his decease were universal and sincere. It was acknowledged that there was no one immediately available to fill his place, that intrigues would assuredly arise, and serious injury might accrue

to the interests of the Hyderabad State, owing to the youth of the Nizam. The Government of India, by a "Gazette Extraordinary," announced the occurrence thus :

" By this unhappy event the British Government has lost an experienced and enlightened friend, His Highness the Nizam a wise and faithful servant, and the Indian community one of its most distinguished representatives." The scene at the funeral was very touching. The crowds wept like children, crying for their lost master. His death was regarded as a national calamity for India, as he afforded a model to native statesmanship, and towered above his countrymen through the loftiness of his character. The difficulties of his position were known and fully appreciated.

In a not very laudatory passage Dr. Thornton* wrote of Salar Jang as "undoubtedly one of the greatest Indian statesmen of modern times, and a most fascinating personality. Born and brought up in an atmosphere of intrigue, his methods were not always to be approved, but personally he was as uncorrupt as he was broadminded and unsectarian; and as the man who, above all others, kept Hyderabad straight in 1857, as the introducer of comparatively civilized administration into what was one of the worst governed States of India, and as one who did much to

* "Life of Sir Richard Meade," by Dr. T. H. Thornton, p. 348.

bring together the European and the Oriental in friendly social intercourse—he deserves to be gratefully remembered." But he considered Salar Jang a dreamer in matters of high politics, so that his aspirations had to be opposed.

Perhaps another estimate is possible, that he was too ambitious for his master's interests, and that his case was not strong enough for him to have urged it against the might of the British Government. His main endeavour was to make Hyderabad so powerful a State that the Nizam might assume an independent attitude towards the Government of India, and, without actually menacing, bring moral pressure to bear in furtherance of his ambitious projects. Thus his reforms were all directed to the strengthening of the State.

He abhorred extreme measures and revolutionary schemes, but he was no enemy to reforms when convinced of their efficiency. He advocated and practised a system of government by compromise and conciliation, but no one could act more promptly than he did, for instance, in the troubles of the Mutiny time. Of his personal qualities and ability sufficient has already been said. "No one* could be long in his presence without being impressed by his clearness of thought and expression, his keen perception and his high intellectual qualities, to which were united a charm of manner which few could resist.

* *The Pioneer*, Allahabad, February 12, 1883.

His private life was above reproach—nay, more, it afforded in the simplicity of its surroundings an example which native gentlemen of high rank would do well to imitate ; while at the same time his hospitality and generosity were worthy of his position as the Minister of a great State.” It cannot, at any rate, be disputed that no name stands higher in the annals of Hyderabad than that of Sir Salar Jang.

6. THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ALFRED COMYNS LYALL (1835-1911).

It was said that Sir Alfred Lyall missed his vocation by going to India in the Civil Service, as he might, with his literary genius, have attained high rank in the world of letters in England. It might be replied that by going to India he both gained fame as an administrator and gathered experience for his writings, which procured him as recognized a position in literary circles as he would anyhow have reached. Few Anglo-Indians have achieved the double honours. Strachey and Temple approached them, but, though better known as administrators, they had not such literary reputations as Lyall. Lord Dufferin is stated to have described Lyall “as one of the most accomplished and delicate-minded spirits of our age, and has proved himself, in spite—shall I say—of his great literary talent, a most able and practical administrator.”

He may well have inherited his literary faculty from his father, a clergyman, who wrote books. He received his education in the College at Eton, where his ability showed itself early. He might have gone to King's College, Cambridge, with a scholarship, but he deliberately preferred an Indian career, and hardly ever regretted his choice in after-life. It does not appear that he distinguished himself particularly at Haileybury. He was never a hard worker if he could help it ; his maxim was that continual work narrows the mind. A natural restlessness stood in the way of prolonged application to one subject ; he never was absorbed in his work as other Civilians have been and still are. He arrived in India on January 2, 1856, just before the completion of his twenty-first year. His subsequent experience of Indian affairs, extending over thirty-five years, entitled him to write with authority. His first serious work was at Bulandshahr in the North-West Provinces, whither he had been sent on passing out of the College at Calcutta a few months after his arrival in the country. This station was too near the outbreaks at Meerut and Delhi in May, 1857, to escape the contagion, and when the 9th Native Infantry had mutinied, and the station was attacked by a crowd of disaffected persons called "Goojars," Lyall had, like the other European officials, to seek safety in flight to Meerut. The ordinary civil work being in abeyance, when

offices and records were being burnt, treasure looted, and orders disregarded, Lyall's services were utilized in the volunteer cavalry called the "Khaki Risala," formed at Meerut for the miscellaneous duties required of them. His corps was frequently engaged in fights with bodies of mutineers, and he well earned his Mutiny medal by coming constantly under fire. On one occasion he lost his horse in action, and had a narrow escape of his life. He visited Delhi soon after its recapture, and accompanied Colonel Greathed's force thence to Agra. In the following year he served again as a volunteer with regular troops against the mutineers in Rohilkhand and Oudh. Such an experience, gained in nineteen months' campaigning, was informing and elevating to a young Civilian of twenty-two to twenty-three. At the end of the Mutiny his name figured among the Officers honourably mentioned by Lord Canning for their Mutiny services.

I cannot follow the methods of the official chroniclers who love to account for every day of a Civilian's émployment. Much of his work, though important enough, is of a routine character, requiring no special notice. Lyall lost all his books in the troubles at Bulandshahr, but he had plenty of resource in the study of the Indian mind, sentiment, and character. He studied India and the Indians so carefully that he came to understand and sympathize with the Indian point of view better, perhaps, than any English

officer of his time. It has been said of him that his philosophic, subtle aptitude for speculative disquisition led him to appreciate the Hindu mind.

When so many men lost their lives in the Mutiny and others were invalidated, the fortunate survivors reaped the advantage of rapid promotion to vacancies. Accordingly, Lyall was among the Officers specially chosen for employment in the Central Provinces—the most recently created Province of India, termed a “Chief Commissionership”—which were then being boomed (to use the modern expression) under Temple, as already described. For a year he performed District work as Deputy-Commissioner of Hoshungabad, almost his only District charge. The solitude of District life, and wandering about under tents, were not congenial to him.

After only nine years’ service, at the age of thirty, he was, after a few weeks only at Jubbulpore, appointed to officiate as Commissioner of Nagpur, the capital of the Province. Temple, himself an artist in prose, but incapable of versification, is said to have been attracted by Lyall’s poetry, and formed a high opinion of the author’s talents. In 1867 Lyall was further advanced to the Commissionership of West Berar, comprised in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts (a matter of history into which I need not enter here). His “Gazetteer of Berar” was the

first of the gazetteers which came to be prepared for all India, and set an example; it is not too much to say that it was accepted as the general model of the form such works should take. It gave him an opportunity of displaying his literary capacity, combined with his administrative work. His leisure time was spent in writing verses on Indian and philosophic subjects, and papers which brought him to the notice of persons in authority in England, on whose suggestion—such was always the tradition, and its truth is now declared—he was chosen by Lord Northbrook in 1873 to be Home Secretary to the Government of India. In this appointment he enhanced his reputation, though he found the perpetual stream of office boxes and their ponderous contents too overwhelming to be agreeable.

In the following year he was transferred to Rajputana as Agent to the Governor-General, a post which brought him into contact with some of the noblest and oldest Princes of India, tracing their descent from the sun and moon. It was the most primitive part of India, where native lore and custom still survived in their integrity and Western civilization was backward, though some Princes, the proudest in India, had received a good education and had been honoured by the Government. The Maharaja of Jaipur, for instance, an enlightened ruler and orthodox Hindu, had sat in the Governor-General's Legislative Council. Among such

surroundings Lyall found leisure and inspiration for his pen. The romance of the country, the chivalry of the people, the charm of antiquity, appealed to his imagination. Gallant soldiers had been among his predecessors, but few writers so capable as Lyall since Colonel Tod, a Political Agent, brought out his "Annals of Rajasthan" in 1829. Lyall edited the "Rajputana Gazetteer" according to the modern method which he had initiated in Berar. He had also to negotiate with the Native States the Salt Treaties, by which Strachey's abolition of the Indian Customs Line, already mentioned, was effected.

In the spring of 1878 Lyall was promoted from his political appointment in Rajputana to the Foreign Secretaryship to the Government, immediately under the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, in whose time foreign affairs, always important in India as including the relations of Government with foreign Independent Powers, besides the Native States within the Peninsula, assumed special prominence. Lord Lytton is said to have had some hesitation in selecting Lyall to be Foreign Secretary, as the latter was a Liberal in politics, and was in constant correspondence with many influential persons in England. This correspondence was stopped, and Lord Lytton and his Foreign Secretary came to be on the best of terms, their relations being governed by mutual esteem and respect.

The Amir Shere Ali of Afghanistan had for some time been dissatisfied, rightly or wrongly, with his treatment by the British Government. His envoy to Simla had failed to obtain from Lord Northbrook and the English Government the assurances and terms of alliance which he was anxious to secure. On the other hand, the Amir was pressed by the advance of Russia in Central Asia, and did not know who were his friends. This is not the place for discussing at length the British relations with Afghanistan. They were at a critical point when Lyall joined the Foreign Office. In the autumn of that year the second Afghan War broke out with the rebuff of Sir Neville Chamberlain's mission at Ali Masjid. As Foreign Secretary, Lyall was the constitutional medium of all political communications with the Viceroy for the declaration of policy and issue of orders. Lyall's acute mind and perceptive faculty enabled him to lay before the Viceroy every aspect in which a political problem could be viewed. It was said that he so often saw so many sides to a question that he found difficulty in arriving at a decision ; the decision was for the Government, rather than for the Secretary, to make. But when a line of action was marked out by himself or for him, he could and did follow it out with skill and tenacity.

During his tenure of the Foreign Office under Lords Lytton and Ripon he visited both Kabul and Kandahar on special deputation. There was at

that time a great division of opinion on the question of the retention of Kandahar or its rendition to the Amir. Much could be said on both sides. It has come to light that Lyall, after his visit to Kandahar, gave his opinion in favour of restoring Kandahar to the Amir, while he advocated the retention of Quetta and Peshin up to the Khojak range. This compromise was criticized keenly, but the results have been excellent, and the Indian frontier in that direction has been enormously strengthened. The retention of Kandahar would have alienated the Amir and the Afghan nation. Lyall, while Foreign Secretary, between 1878 and 1881, advocated the conclusion of a pacific agreement with Russia, so as to terminate the perpetual source of contention about Central Asia and Afghanistan. Such matters take long to mature, and it was not until more than twenty-five years later that the Convention of 1907 between England and Russia was signed—a Convention to which (it may be added) the Amir, though one of the parties principally concerned, has never intimated his assent. Lyall had been made a C.B. after the Treaty of Gandamak in 1879, and before leaving the Foreign Office was made K.C.B. in May, 1881, for his political services.

In April, 1882, he returned to his old Province, the North - West, as Lieutenant-Governor, with the Chief Commissionership of Oudh attached. He retained the appoint-

ments, including six months' extension, until November, 1887. He left his mark permanently on the Province. In ability there were few to compare with him. Perhaps his policy was sometimes hardly appreciated by those who failed to understand him. His influence with the Supreme Government, in which he had long served, was considerable, so that he was able to secure the establishment of a separate Legislative Council for the Province, besides a University at Allahabad, and the extension of the High Court to Oudh. Such measures were naturally popular, as tending to promote the Provincial independence and dignity. Local Self-Government was, under Lord Ripon's orders, which would have given practical independence to local bodies, introduced into India in 1882, and Lyall had to carry it out in his Province ; but he was careful to include provisions authorizing supervision, control, and stimulus by higher Officers, so that no administrative scandal might occur. In developing the unpaid magistracy and the extended employment of natives in responsible offices — which he constantly advocated — he achieved some political progress without friction.

In Oudh he had to consider the question of Tenant Rights which about the same time was engaging the attention of the Governments of Lower Bengal and the Panjab. The position of the Oudh Talukdars (landowners) was historically strong and had many supporters. Their

object was, of course, to keep the tenantry as subject as possible, and deny them the acquisition of legal rights. The tenants-at-will had been liable to be ejected at the end of each year. Lyall secured for them, by legislation, protection from ejection for seven years. He was fortunate in finance, as there was no famine in his time, and his predecessor had accumulated funds and left the Government Treasury fuller than was obligatory. Lyall accordingly adopted a spending policy, subsidizing private enterprise and developing public works, extending the roads, railways, and canals of the Province—a policy which adds enormously to the material comfort and prosperity of the people. In February, 1887, he was made a K.C.I.E., and retired in December. The G.C.I.E. came to him in 1896. Early in 1888 he was appointed to the Council of India, and, with a period of five years' extension, served there, for fifteen years, until 1903. His active service was ended, for he declined, for personal reasons, an offer of the Governorship of the Cape in 1889, and a subsequent offer in 1892 of the Governorship of New Zealand. He experienced a disappointment when, in 1893, it had been settled to appoint an Officer of Indian experience to the Viceroyalty of India, which Lord Lansdowne was about to vacate. On Sir Henry Norman's refusal of the post (after accepting it) there was still hope for Lyall, but Lord Elgin was selected and went out.

Lyall, however, found plenty of congenial employment in literary work in England. He collected some of his magazine articles and papers, written at intervals, and issued them in book form as "Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social," in 1882; a second and enlarged edition appeared in 1899, which was reissued in 1906-07. They claimed to be the outcome of personal observation and of intercourse with the people of India. A careful study of their contents shows that Lyall examined with great knowledge the problems presented in India by its religious condition, by the religious policy of the Government, by the comparison of religions, by primitive religion and natural religion (the subject of the Rede Lecture at Cambridge in 1891). He also investigated the origin of divine myths in India, the formation of some clans and castes, moral and material progress, history and fable, and political matters, such as the Rajput States, the changing situation in India under the influence of Western ideas, and dominion in Asia. His philosophical essays not only added to knowledge but stimulated other inquirers. They were highly appreciated by many competent judges, and will probably constitute his claim to a permanent place in literature long after his administrative services to India have been forgotten. His method was rather to probe exhaustively the ascertained facts from all sides than to pin himself to final conclusions.

Though his provisional views might not always be accepted, they were so well expressed, with such literary distinction, that he was acknowledged to be an eminent thinker and writer on Indian subjects, most of them being original and speculative.

This book has, in fact, attracted the attention of philosophic thinkers and writers all over the world. His speculations may hereafter be found inadequate or incorrect, but meanwhile it holds the field and has enlisted other students. The important point is that India and the Indians should be thoroughly known to England. His little volume of poetry, "Verses written in India," has fascinated many readers. They exhibit much pathos, and perhaps it should be added, a pessimistic view of life ; but there can be no question of the beauty of the poetry and its fidelity to the situations portrayed. "The Old Pindari" and "The Land of Regrets" are quoted more often than any other Anglo-Indian poetry, and they are constantly recited.

Perhaps Lyall's most useful literary work was his book "The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India," which ran through five editions between 1894 and 1910. This is avowedly no more than a sketch in outline, and does not pretend to state all the facts, and it is not invariably accurate. But perhaps there is no other historical work on India which presents so lucid a philosophical view of the principles and

forces at work throughout the centuries, and of the issues which were constantly arising from the course of events. It is a book that should be studied simultaneously with a compendium of the facts. It possesses all the charm of Lyall's style, so that Indian history is, for once, made agreeable by being denuded of the forest of names and minor events with which it is generally overgrown; but the book does not claim to convey all the information required of an historian. His method is to illuminate by bright touches and broad strokes of colour rather than to crowd his canvas with dull details. Lyall also wrote Lives of Warren Hastings, Lord Dufferin, and Lord Tennyson, besides assisting in the account of Lord Lytton's Indian administration, with which he was exceedingly well acquainted. Subsequently he wrote an Introduction to Sir Valentine Chirol's volume on "Indian Unrest." It would be faint praise to say that whatever Lyall wrote was worth reading. Without reading what he has written, no one could be said to have a thorough knowledge of India. He brought all his administrative experience to bear on his literary productions, adding much thereby to their force and value.

But there is something in the Anglo-Saxon mind which prevents it from grasping Hinduism in its entirety. Even Lyall did not form quite a clear conception of the forces of Hinduism, or

in his Introduction to Sir Valentine Chirol's volume on "Indian Unrest" he would not have supported the latter's theory that Brahman conspiracy is at the root of the Indian unrest. In Chapter XIII. of the present volume I have pointed out this and other errors of Sir Valentine Chirol. English thinkers seem to lose sight of the fact that constructors of the Hindu sociological system were careful to balance the Brahman against the non-Brahman. From time immemorial the teachings of three great men have guided the destinies of the millions in India, and all these three, who even to-day rule the thoughts of over 200 millions of Hindus, including Brahmans, were themselves non-Brahmans. I mean Rama, Krishna, and Buddha, who, as is well known, are regarded as incarnations of the Deity. Nominally Buddhism is not the religion of India, but every careful student of Hinduism is aware that modern Hinduism has assimilated the teachings of the Buddha. It is therefore clear that though Englishmen, to suit their mental convenience, have built up an elaborate theory based on Brahmans being the sole leaders of Hindu thought, still the fact remains that even the best of Brahmans, whether on the banks of the Ganges or the Godavari, bend the head low in reverence to three great non-Brahman leaders of Hindu thought, whose names conjure up at once a sentiment which has unparalleled power to move the Brahman and non-Brahman alike.

On Lyall's death there was no one left exactly capable of filling his place. A literary genius with administrative experience on a large scale is not always available to supply a vacancy in the world of letters. Oxford and Cambridge had recognized his brilliant merits by bestowing on him all they could in their honorary degrees. The Sovereign called him to the Privy Council. He acquired a European reputation, and performed great service to India by writing so ably and attractively of her peoples, religions, and history in a style that commended itself to the educated reader.

Since this memoir was prepared the excellent "Life of Lyall" by his former subordinate and lifelong admirer, Sir Mortimer Durand, has appeared. It has enabled me to verify and amplify some of the points of Lyall's career and character on which information was deficient or doubtful. The biographer takes the view that Lyall was more a man of action than he was generally credited with being, that his writings show the hand not of a literary man pure and simple, but of a man of action with literary tastes. It is clear that as an administrator he was rather feared than popular. No one, nothing, could escape the keenness of his perception. He could be cynical; he himself admitted (to his biographer) that he was "*suspicious—damned suspicious.*" This was probably the expression of the caution which

was a natural feature of his mind and attitude to all affairs. This record of Lyall's opinions on many points—*e.g.*, his disbelief in Gladstone as a practical statesman, his preference for Hindus rather than Mahomedans, his advocacy of Provincial Decentralization, his opposition to Theosophy, the Woman's Suffrage Movement, Colonial Preference, Irish Home Rule, Tariff Reform, and the Referendum, his constancy to Free Trade and Liberalism—makes this Life both interesting and instructive. But writing as an Indian, I cannot refrain from concluding that among Indians, present and future, Lyall's best claim to recollection and gratitude will be that he advocated and carried out the wider employment of Indians in responsible offices, and that he laboured to investigate and explain to England and the world the workings of the Indian mind. Indian thought and sentiment have had, among Anglo-Indian administrators, few more patient and careful interpreters than Sir Alfred Lyall.

CHAPTER XV

HINDU MIND-TRAINING

A THOUSAND years hence England will be more remembered for her work in India than for anything else she has done. It is there that she has had a hand in remoulding the destinies of one-fifth of the human race, in adjusting one of the most ancient structures of human society and making it adaptable to modern requirements. Posterity will, therefore, judge both her head and heart by her permanent influence on the millions of Hindus who form the majority of the inhabitants of her mighty Empire. Great Anglo-Indian statesmen have rarely lost sight of this fact. It is what Lord Curzon always emphasizes in his speeches, and several other Anglo-Indian statesmen kept it in view when moulding the destinies of my country half a century ago. Many Anglo-Indian officers have tried to understand the Hindu mind, but there is no denying the fact that the most successful attempts at comprehension have generally been made by Irishmen. It was an Irishman, John Lawrence, who saved India during the great Mutiny of 1857, while no name

is so revered by the entire Hindu army as that of the great Irishman, "Bobs Bahadur," Lord Roberts of Kandahar. It would be difficult to mention three other men belonging to the ruling race in India who have come into direct contact with thousands of Hindus and have commanded their confidence to such a degree as the Irishmen, Henry Lawrence, John Lawrence, and Frederick Roberts. But even those two great Irishmen, the Lawrences, with all their sympathy with the Hindu mind, were not agreed on the subject of India. In perfect amity on most other things, the two Irish brothers differed in policy concerning the consolidation of the Indian Empire. John Lawrence thought that the way to touch the right chord in the Indian heart was to look to the wants of the masses who form the vast majority of the Indian population. His brother Henry decided that to make the British flag permanent in India, and to help the British administration to run in harmony with Hindu thought, his policy should be to strengthen the position of the Indian aristocracy. Both the brothers tried their best, as many other Anglo-Indian statesmen have done since, to get a peep into the Hindu mind, but they found that it was not such an easy problem as it appeared on the surface. Anglo-Indian statesmen usually grope in the dark, and some have actually made for themselves a rule of thumb to help them in gauging the depths of Hindu thought. For

instance, a couple of Englishmen who have been arguing an administrative matter threadbare may have come to a conclusion ; then one of them, most likely a veteran Anglo-Indian who has passed more than a quarter of a century in the grilling heat of India, says to his friend in all earnestness : " Look here, my dear fellow, this is our opinion, is it not ? But if I know anything of the Hindu, he will take just the reverse view. I don't know why, but that is what he does. So let our policy be exactly the opposite of what we have now decided !"

Eminent Anglo-Indian officers, when comparing notes with distinguished Hindu administrators, have often noticed the different opinions held by the two races on what constitutes good government. Sir Mortimer Durand, in his recently published " Life of Sir Alfred Lyall," gives this typical example : " Dinkar Rao never changed his opinion about our rule in India, and I can see now his keen bright eyes, and hear his little cynical chuckling laugh, as he pointed out to me in the frankest terms the absurdity from the native point of view of some choice measure of reform." The views of some other Hindu administrators are similar to those held by Sir Dinkar Rao, though perhaps for reasons of expediency they do not frankly inform British officials of their exact mental attitude. But while the Hindu mind is often a mystery to the British-Indian administrator, he has not the same difficulty with the Moslem, for since Christianity is

about six centuries older than Mahomedanism, the psychology of the Moslem mind does not appear to him complicated, as does that of the Hindu with its fifty centuries of metaphysics behind it.

How is the Hindu mind trained to subtleties which have defied dissection by Moslem rulers for a thousand years, and which even now baffle the Christian Governors of India ? It has become a habit with the Anglo-Saxon race, both the home-staying Englishman and the Anglo-Indian officer, to think that because the Hindu boy is educated in the various Indian Universities according to Western ideas, his mind works like the Englishman's ; but the Englishman forgets that side by side with his Western culture in schools, the songs, ballads, and tales, by which the Hindu is entertained at home every evening, train his mind, and the mind of his womenfolk too, in a way which is quite novel to England. It is as Sir Monier Williams has observed : "Indeed, if I may be allowed the anachronism, the Hindus were Spinozites more than 2,000 years before the existence of Spinoza, and Darwinians many centuries before Darwin, and Evolutionists many centuries before the doctrine of Evolution had been accepted by the scientists of our time." Centuries before John Stuart Mill the ancient Hindus might, perhaps, have been called wonderful utilitarians as well, for no Western utilitarian has even yet, as far as I know, thought of utilizing ghosts as relaters of stories to train the mind of the nation. In

ancient India a psychic medium was introduced in Hindu literature, not solely for the sake of popularizing knowledge of the psychic identity of man, but to impart the high truths of philosophy to the people. In the Sanskrit work Bétāl Panchavinsati, known through the medium of the Hindi language in modern India as Bétāl Pachisi, or "The Twenty-five Tales of Bétāl," a ghost is made the instrument to instruct a King, in the course of a cycle of fairy-stories, in many of the great tenets of Hindu philosophy. Tāl (concordance) and Bétāl (discordance) are the two most distinguished spirits known to Hindu fairy-tales. These twenty-five tales, when edited, like most other ancient Hindu literature, in manuscript after centuries of oral tradition, were associated with Bétāl (discordance), perhaps to signify the difference of opinion that might be held on the questions debated therein.

It is upon the importance which the Hindu attaches to philosophic education, as illustrated by these tales, that I wish to lay stress ; for the Hindu view of life is essentially a philosophic one. His ideal of education is, therefore, likewise philosophic. Long centuries before learning flourished in Europe he had recognized the value of that particular form of mental culture, but he differed from the Western student in this respect, that with him philosophy formed, as at the present time it still constitutes, an integral part of his daily life. The European studies

philosophy as a speciality ; it does not enter so much into his nature and conduct as it does into those of the Hindu. It is the early philosophic training of the Hindu youth which alone can explain why no “bread riots” are heard of in Hindu India even during famines, and it is Hindu philosophy which has made the task of the foreign rulers in some respects comparatively easy.

As regards education itself, the world is now practically agreed in recognizing its necessity and value. But what it has not decided upon is the nature of the things to be taught and the mode of inculcating them. It was the same in Aristotle’s day. “Ought we in our training to aim at acquiring the useful in life, or virtue, or the higher knowledge?” he asks. “All three opinions have been held.” But since it is on the education of a nation that its history depends, and since life in the twentieth century is a more complex and difficult problem than it has ever been, there is, surely, need to consider the best methods of character-forming, which is the end and aim of mental discipline. Nations are like individuals, inasmuch as all of them fall short of perfection ; the strong point of one may be the weakness of another. Therefore it might not be waste of time for the English people to examine the philosophic view of education, as entertained by many millions of their Hindu fellow-subjects, and see what can be said in favour of

that ideal. Just now the Hindu mode of mental culture is not of mere academic interest to the British nation, but of real practical concern, especially when it is remembered that some misunderstanding between the English and Hindus is causing so much unrest in India.

The philosophic side of education, somewhat neglected now in the West, was not underrated in Homeric Greece, for there, although they cherished Achilles, type of martial valour, as their great ideal, they had their other model in Odysseus, wise prudence. It was their philosophy which helped them to emulate this latter type. Later, a philosophic training is extolled, above all, by Plato (428-347 B.C.) as the means by which a virtuous and happy State may be realized. Education, he defines in his "Laws," as "the constraining and directing of youth towards that right reason, which the law affirms, and which the experience of the best of our elders has agreed to be truly right." This right reason is to be attained in its supreme degree by philosophy. In his Ideal Commonwealth it is the philosophers alone who should rule society. Yet he would not impose a serious philosophic culture on all, for only the highest minds, he believed, were capable of such mental discipline. He held that before the age of thirty to thirty-five, even the best intellects were not fitted to engage in the great study of philosophy. Such philosophers from the age of thirty-five to fifty were then to

be considered as equipped to undertake the practical public duties of the State.

Plato's philosophy was above the heads of all but a select few ; the Hindu, however, imbibes philosophy, as will be seen, almost with his nursery tales. Plato sets forth a schooling in philosophy as the ideal preparation for strenuous public life. The same ideal is found centuries after in Plutarch (A.D. 50-120), in his "Discourse on the Training of Children," where he says : "Wherefore, though we ought not to permit an ingenuous child entirely to neglect any of the common sorts of learning . . . yet I would have him . . . give philosophy the pre-eminence of them all. . . . There is but one remedy for the distempers and diseases of the mind, and that is philosophy. . . . But those of all men I count most complete who know how to mix and temper the management of civil affairs with philosophy ; seeing they are thereby masters of two of the greatest good things that are—a life of public usefulness as statesmen, and a life of calm tranquillity as students of philosophy."

The Romans were eminently a practical people, and their education in its early period consisted almost wholly of the study of the "Laws of the Twelve Tables"; but for all that they did not neglect the inculcation of philosophic principles. Subsequently, in Cicero's time, oratory had become the great aim of their education ; yet, as Cicero sets forth in his "De

Oratore" (55 'B.C.), it was indispensable for the rhetorician to make a thorough study of the subjects taught in the different academies and schools of philosophy. Quintilian, too, in his "Institutes of Oratory," maintains that "no man will ever be thoroughly accomplished in eloquence who has not gained a deep insight into the impulses of human nature, and formed his moral character on the precepts of others and on his own reflection." In other words, public eloquence, the Roman ideal, could not exist in perfection without philosophy.

Coming down to still more modern times, let us see what Kant, the famous German thinker, held as to the true aims of education. He saw four great main purposes to be achieved by the education of man—(1) Subjection to discipline, that influence which prevents our lower nature from conquering, and keeps it under control, whether we are considered as individuals or as members of society ; (2) the attainment of culture, which includes information and instruction ; (3) the acquiring of discretion, by which a man learns how to live well in society, and to gain power and popularity ; (4) a training in morality, which is an essential part of education. Now, as all thinkers know, it is the study of philosophy that enables a man to attain these most necessary ends, for such mental training teaches him to act not at random, but according to fixed principles. It would seem that in the West these latter

branches—*i.e.*, instruction in the practical, discretionary matters of life and definite moral training—might be cultivated more strenuously. If the young were taught to *think*, there would not be so great a lack of “worldly wisdom,” using this term in its better sense of intelligent thought and action.

Let us now see the mental pabulum with which the Hindu youth is regaled, and note the philosophic trend of even the light literature of India. Here is the framework of Bétal's philosophic tales. Vikram, King of Dharanagar, one day left his kingdom and wandered forth in the garb of a devotee to see the world. During his absence Indra, god of the firmament, sent a demon to protect the vacant throne. This spirit watched his capital by night and day, so that Vikram, returning unrecognized one night, found him on guard at the city gate, challenging him to combat. They fought, the King conquered, and out of gratitude for sparing his life the spirit revealed to him an alarming secret—that his august life stood in deadly peril from a certain devotee, the son of a potter. There were three men, said the demon, born at the same moment, beneath the same planetary influences. One, Vikram himself, had seen the light in a royal palace; the second was an oilman's son; the third was a potter's child, now an ascetic. This ascetic had killed the oilman's son and hung him head downwards on a tree in a burning-ground. His

fell purpose how was to slay Vikram. Therefore let the King beware !

Vikram resumed his government. One day there came to his Court an ascetic with a fruit in his hand as a present. The King, suspecting him to be the very devotee against whom the demon had warned him, did not touch the fruit, but handed it over to the keeping of his steward. Every day the ascetic came and left a fruit. On one occasion the fruit fell to the ground, a pet monkey seized and broke it, and, behold, there dropped out a priceless ruby ! Vikram sent at once for all the other fruits, in each of which was found a glorious ruby. Thereupon he begged the ascetic to name a boon in return for gifts so magnificent, and the devotee besought him to keep him company one night in a burning-ground on the Godavari.

On the appointed night the King, with sword in hand, repaired to this mysterious place of meeting. Rain beat down in torrents, an impenetrable gloom shrouded the burning-ground, but soon he perceived the ascetic, round whom in a frightful circle danced witches, goblins, and evil spirits. The service which the ascetic craved from the King was that the latter should go and bring him a dead body that hung there from one of the branches of a siris-tree.

The King started, found the tree, which was all ablaze from root to crown, and discovered the dead body hanging head downwards by a cord

of cocoanut fibre. He climbed the tree, cut the rope, the body dropped, the King seized it, and threw his cloak over it to bring it to the ascetic. But as he carried it the ghost of the dead man addressed him, and so little fear was in his heart that, to beguile the time on his way to the devotee, the King heard from the dead man's ghost a cycle of twenty-five tales. Each one contained some knotty point of philosophy, or morality, or ingenious reasoning, which the ghost asked Vikram to decide.

The tales are remarkable in three ways : (1) for the strange spiritistic medium through which they reach the hearer ; (2) for the rich philosophy which abounds throughout each ; (3) for the amusing ingenuity of the questions raised in them. In the first point they are probably unique. I do not know of any other case in literature in which a similar spiritistic vehicle is employed for the exposition of moral and ethical truths. The idea presumably was that such teaching would make a deeper impression upon the minds of those for whom the tales were intended if it were delivered through a supernatural instrument. The human race has always been susceptible to the notion of spirits, and it is curious to note the persistence of this belief, from the rude imaginings of the primitive savage, through the civilization of ancient Greece and Rome, till we come to the spiritism of the present age, as manifested in the researches of such distinguished

scientists as the late Professor Lombroso, Sir Oliver Lodge, and others. But even now the Western student, with all his scientific inquiry, will find new and most fascinating avenues of spiritism open to him, if he has the patience to dive deep into the Yoga literature of the Hindu. He must, however, take it direct from the fountain-head, not through Occidental sources.

Another particular feature of these romances is that they partake both of the nature of fable and fairy-tale. In Europe a didactic purpose has always been more associated with the fable than with the fairy-tale. A fable consists properly of two parts, the first containing the story, and the second or analogue setting forth the moral. But a fairy-tale, according to general Western notions, need have no moral. In it the supernatural action is everything. Incidentally there may be a moral ; it is not a necessity. In Hindu literature, on the contrary, supernatural stories often combine the aims of both fable and fairy-tale, insomuch as the moral is of equal importance with the plot. In these which I am discussing the wisdom is conveyed not in a series of dull platitudes at the conclusion of each narrative, but as rich gems of philosophy scattered throughout the romance of the story, and enveloped in searching questions. The spiritistic medium and the quaint action are the sugar-coating to render palatable the philosophic pill.

Let us now examine a few of the tales and see

something of the riddles and the philosophy they unfold. The “Tale of the Maiden and her Three Lovers” concerns the fortunes of a girl with three suitors, but alas ! before her parents could decide between them the prospective bride was bitten by a snake and died. Her father there-upon took her body to the burning-ground, where it was consumed with the usual rites, and her disconsolate admirers were left lamenting. One of them collected her bones from among the cinders, and went forth as a religious mendicant to the forest ; the second gathered her ashes into a heap, built a hut for himself upon the spot, and took up his abode there ; the third set out to travel in distant lands as a devotee. On his wanderings this last obtained possession of a wonderful psychic recipe from a Yogi for restoring the dead to life, and coming back with it to where his beloved had been cremated, he found the other two suitors at the same place. When they heard his story, the first one brought the bones, the second the ashes, and together they made a heap of them. Then the third performed certain Yoga rites for the transformation of psychic forces, and suddenly the girl rose up alive among them ! “To which did she by right belong ?” the ghost asked King Vikram. “To him who built the hut and lived there,” replied the King. “But,” objected the ghost, “if the first had not collected the bones, how could the second have restored her to life ? And if the

third had not learned the science of resuscitation, how could she have lived again?"

Most Occidentals would without doubt have voted for the third man's chance, but "No," said the King. "The first who preserved her bones was as her son, the third who gave her life was as her father; therefore, as she could not marry either her son or her father, she was the wife of him who built the hut." A most ingenious settlement of the difficulty!

A tiger that is made to live again furnishes material for a story which is light on the surface, but reveals one of the great principles of the Hindu philosophers—that ignorance means death, and knowledge life. Four Brahman brothers set out to visit strange lands in pursuit of knowledge. One was a gambler, the second a vagabond, the third a libertine, the fourth an atheist, and their father in displeasure sent them away to learn wisdom. After some time passed in the acquisition of knowledge, they were returning home, when by the wayside they perceived a man skinning and dismembering a dead tiger. Determining to put their new-found learning to the test, they gave him something for the remains of the animal, and each took his share in restoring the dead creature to life. One put the bones together, murmured strange spells, and they became united; another made the flesh adhere to the skeleton; the third attached the skin to the flesh; while the fourth

gave life to the whole. Then the tiger rose up and devoured the foolish brethren!

“ Which was the greatest fool of those four ? ” asked the ghost. “ He who restored the beast to life,” replied the King ; “ and your story proves that knowledge is useless without wisdom. Wisdom is better than learning, and those who are bereft of it perish, just as the four Brahmans died who raised the tiger to life.” In some respects this tale may remind the Western reader of Goethe’s ballad of *Der Zauberlehrling* (“ The Magician’s Apprentice ”), where the foolish pupil, by a charm overheard from his master, endows a broom with life, only to find that the spirit he has evoked is far beyond his control. In his imperfect knowledge he has forgotten the second half of the spell, by which the broom can be restored to its former state of servitude, and he is helpless until the master-magician returns, who at a word reduces the unruly spirit to subjection. The lesson is the same in both—that the ignorant often stir up forces which are beyond their power to quell.

Wisdom was always highly rated by Hindu philosophers, who held, with the poet, that “ Ignorance is the curse of God ; knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven.” In the *Mahabharata*, the oldest and most voluminous epic known to the human race, are found numerous passages extolling the excellences of wisdom above wealth, above strength, above

bravery. In the Santi Parva, or Peace volume of that poem, it is recorded over and over again that "success depends upon intelligence." "A foolish brain," says the wise Bhishma, "should never enter into conflict with one that is intelligent; for the intelligence of the wise will make its way across all obstacles to its goal, as flame burns down the stubble." The celebrated fable of the Mouse and the Cat, in the same book of the epic, is another glorification of intelligence, in which the Mouse, the weaker creature, triumphs by dint of wisdom over her strong enemy the Cat. Such has been the mental ideal and early training, begun one cannot tell how long ago—perhaps forty centuries—which have given the Hindu that subtlety of mind for which he is pre-eminent to-day.

The "Tale of the Three Spirit Hands" relates how a woman driven from home was wandering one night with her young unmarried daughter, when suddenly she came upon a thief who had suffered the punishment of impalement for his crime. Death had not yet released him from agony, and as she passed him the woman's hand unwittingly struck his foot. She inquired of him who he was, and the poor wretch made answer, "I am a thief who have now been three days impaled upon this stake with life still lingering in my body." "Why will death not come to thee?" asked the woman. "Because

I am not married," replied the thief. " If thou wilt give me thy daughter in marriage, thou shalt have ten thousand gold pieces." So through greed the mother gave him her daughter, and wedded him to her by making her walk four times round the stake. The thief pointed out a banyan-tree near, under which the treasure lay hidden, and he also told the mother that the girl must be given as wife to a learned Brahman, with five hundred gold coins as her dowry. Saying this he died, and the two women went away.

What the thief had desired came to pass. The maiden became the wife of a Brahman and a son was born to them. But on the sixth night after his birth an ascetic appeared to the girl in a vision, telling her to put one thousand pieces of gold with the babe in a basket and leave them at the palace gate. Next morning, in fear, she did as she was bidden.

The same night the King also had a dream commanding him to adopt as his son a child whom he should find in a basket at the palace gate. He obeyed, and the boy grew up as the heir to the throne. In course of time he succeeded his father as King, and governed justly. But after the lapse of several years he determined to perform the more important funeral ceremonies of his father at Gaya, and invoking his father, he offered oblations to his memory by the banks of the holy river Phalgu. Now,

the Hindu idea is that when a son performs this rite, the gods allow the parent to come from the other world to receive his offering. But lo ! 'when the young King completed the ceremony, three hands were raised from the water towards him, and he knew not to which he should make the gift ! "Which had the right to the offering ?" asked the ghost. "The thief," replied the King ; "for the Brahman was bought as the girl's husband with five hundred pieces of gold, and the King likewise took one thousand pieces of gold and brought up the boy, therefore it was the thief who had the prior claim."

Throughout this tale are found many philosophic pearls. When the woman inadvertently strikes against the impaled thief, she apologizes for causing him pain ; but he rejoins, "None can give either pleasure or pain to another ; one's fate is as heaven decrees. Those who assert that they themselves have done this or that are most foolish, for they are tied to the cord of fate, which draws them where it pleases. The ways of heaven are incomprehensible, for men make plans, and things wholly different are brought to pass." Compare the same doctrine in Marcus Aurelius : "Whatever may happen to thee, it was prepared for thee from all eternity ; and the implication of causes was from eternity spinning the thread of thy being and of that which is incident to it." Also in Goethe : "Man sup-

poses that he directs his life and governs his actions, whereas his existence is irretrievably under the control of destiny."

When for the ten thousand gold pieces the mother gives her daughter in marriage to the impaled thief, the author comments : "Covetousness is the root of all evil, pleasure the source of pain, and love the cause of sorrow. He who avoids these three—greed, pleasure, love—lives happy." This is the maxim of those Hindu ascetics who preached the virtue of self-restraint. It was the great tenet of the Hindu sages, and the doctrine runs through the whole of Hindu teaching. Then, when the young King is contemplating a sacrificial offering to the memory of his father, he meditates upon the duty of compassion, which is the cardinal virtue of Hinduism, especially emphasized by the Buddha, the ninth incarnation of the Deity. "Those who are compassionate," reflects the King, "they it is who are wise, and they attain heaven. Offerings, worship, religious penances, pilgrimages, and study of the Scriptures are all alike useless except a man be pure in heart. Nor are ceremonies performed in pride and without faith of any worth." So in this fairy-tale, which may at first glance seem more quaint than instructive, are expounded three great doctrines of Hindu philosophy—(1) The inevitable power of destiny ; (2) the great duty of self-restraint ; and (3) the virtue of compassion.

In another "tale the ghost relates the story of "The Thief who Laughed and Wept." In a certain flourishing town the citizens were continually harassed by thefts. Each night fresh cases of robbery took place, yet no culprit could be discovered, and the householders were plunged in despair. But when all his guards were baffled, the King himself undertook to rid his land of the pest, and in his own person kept watch one night over the town. By good luck he met the thief, and pretending that they were both of the same trade, joined company with him and found out his hiding-place. Returning to his palace that night, he went out next day, captured the thief, and brought him back in triumph, with his hands tied behind his back, to his capital. There the prisoner was bathed, clothed in soft raiment, mounted on a camel, and paraded round the city to be viewed of the inhabitants, while the crier with beat of drum proclaimed his punishment—death by impalement.

Now, there was a merchant's daughter, fresh and fair as the dew upon the rose at morning, who, hearing the noise and the drumming of the procession, ran to her casement to see what was afoot. But meeting the steadfast gaze of the criminal, not contempt for his crime, but love and pity filled her heart, and she went straight-way to her father, begging him to procure the man's release from the King. The merchant, in fear lest the thwarting of this strange fancy

might drive his daughter to despair, offered the monarch large sums of gold to let the thief go free. But the King was adamant ; the sentence must proceed. By this time whispers of the girl's sudden fascination had reached the ears of the doomed man, and the people, crowding round him to tell the tale, marked how when he heard it he was first shaken with laughter, but soon broke into bitter weeping. Then they pulled him down upon the stake, and he suffered the fearful penalty of his misdeeds.

“ Why, O King, did the thief first laugh and then weep ? ” was the ghost’s question. “ Hear the reason, spirit,” said the King. “ The thought came to the thief that, though the maiden had offered all her fortune for his sake, yet he could do nothing for her in return. So he wept. When the irony of fate struck him, he laughed—that love like hers should come to one who was on the point of death ; as heaven at times bestows riches on the unfortunate, wisdom on one of low birth, a charming wife upon a fool. Such inconsistencies of the gods made him laugh.” The Hindu is a philosopher in all circumstances. Even at the moment of death the criminal has time for a smile at the crooked ways of fortune.

In another tale a King is plunged in mourning for his son, and incidentally one learns still more of the Hindu philosopher’s attitude towards life and death. “ This world is the source of sorrow,” says the priest to the King. “ As a babe, an

individual suffers pain ; next, as a youth, he falls in love and endures the grief of separation from the object of his adoration ; thirdly, when he grows old he suffers from bodily weakness. . . . The span of man's life is a hundred years ; of this, half is spent in night, and half of the remaining half in childhood and old age ; the rest is passed amid strife, the pain of parting from those dear to him, and in distress. . . . No one has escaped sorrow on coming into the world. To grieve on this account is folly."

Many points which appear to present themselves by chance throughout the tales are remarkable anticipations of topics that engage the modern statesman. For instance, on one occasion the theories of socialism were tried and quashed. In this case the project sprang not from the Labour leaders, but from Royalty itself. A King and his son, filled with an altruistic desire of benefiting their people, besought the gods to take away all poverty from their subjects, and let those who dwelt within their realm be equal in point of riches. The boon was granted. With what result ? All were so comfortable in the possession of wealth that none would obey orders or do any work, so all progress in the kingdom seemed likely to come to a standstill. But drastic measures were employed in those days to dispose of undesirable innovators. The kinsmen of the royal pair took matters into their own hands, and would have summarily locked up

in prison the two innocent causes of the anarchy, had not the King and Prince, whose philosophy urged them not to make war upon their subjects, voluntarily abandoned their government. Such was the sad failure of an attempt to banish poverty in ancient India.

King Vikram answered each of the ghost's queries, except the one in the twenty-fifth story, which baffled him, the debatable issue being as follows: A King and Prince, father and son, hunting in a forest, discovered the footprints of two women, one apparently bigger than the other. The King agreed that if the owners appeared, the Prince should marry her of the larger footprints, while he himself would choose the one with the smaller feet. They turned out to be those of a Queen and her daughter, so the King wedded the Princess, his son taking the mother. Vikram's brain was unequal to the problem of the relationship that would exist between the children of these four! The ghost was as much pleased with the King's silence when unable to give a correct answer as he was with the wisdom of his other solutions, and by way of reward he told him how by means of a trick he might outwit and kill the evil ascetic who was waiting to slay him. The ghost then abandoned the body, leaving the King to carry the corpse to the devotee. By a ruse Vikram cut off the villain's head, and so reigned glorious and unmolested in his realm.

It is interesting to note that the 'ghost's scheme of questions and answers on debatable points is in a way an anticipation of a method advocated by Kant for the moral training of the young. In his treatise on "Die Pædagogik" he recommends a form of "catechism of just conduct" in the shape of everyday questions on matters of right and wrong, instancing the case of a man who has to pay a debt which is due to-day, but who, seeing another man in grievous want, gives him the money which he himself owes to the other. Whether this is right or wrong is the question to be debated by the pupil.

This fleeting glimpse of light Sanskrit literature may give the English reader some idea of the plane on which the Hindu mind moves. It also serves to emphasize the immemorial age of Hindu philosophy. For all methods of Western thought are far later than the Hindu systems. The earliest European philosopher, Pythagoras, lived and taught about 500 B.C., but Pythagoras was born after the death of the last great Hindu philosopher, Gautama Buddha. Plato's Academy was not founded till 374 B.C.; Aristotle's Peripatetic School was started in 334 B.C.; Epicurus flourished about 300 B.C.—all long after the Hindu codes had been formulated. The Rig Veda, the oldest monument of philosophic teaching in the world, cannot have existed for less than 4,000 years, and is therefore the most

ancient record of the Aryan race. From it the later systems of Hindu moral philosophy derive their source.

It would be impossible for any nation to pass through so many centuries of philosophic teaching without the passage leaving a permanent impression upon the mind, and the contrast between the light literature of the Englishman and that of the Hindu gives an insight into the difference between the mental mechanism of the rulers and the ruled in India, a subject of the deepest interest to all lovers of peace.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BALKAN WAR AND INDIA*

LAST week, on the anniversary of Trafalgar, King George issued a Proclamation that in the Balkan War England will be a neutral Power. Every lover of peace will congratulate the Emperor of India on this decision, which no doubt was largely guided by the keen interest which His Majesty takes in the tranquillity of India. Is it not the first duty of a Sovereign to maintain peace *inside* his Empire, and then to use his influence for the cause of peace *outside* it ?

It was in this very month of November, thirty-seven years ago, that through the action of the Porte Imperialism dawned† on the British mind, when Disraeli made his great speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet on November 9, 1875, following the Sultan's *iradeh*, dated October 2, in which Turkey promised fair treatment of her Christian

* Reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century* for November, 1912.

† "Development of European Nations," by J. Holland Rose, p. 165. 1905.

subjects. Later in the same month Disraeli's purchase of the Suez Canal shares from the Khedive again instilled Imperialism into the thoughtful in this country. The growth of the plant sprung from the seed thus sown by Disraeli was then entrusted by him to Royal hands, and during the next four months King Edward, as Prince of Wales, travelled through India, erecting the banner of true Imperialism even at centres where only eighteen years before the bloody battles of the Indian Mutiny were raging.

Very few in this country seem to realize that the King of England rules over a much larger number of Moslems in India than the total number of Moslems under the Sultan of Turkey, the Sultans of Morocco and Zanzibar, the Shah of Persia, and the Amir of Afghanistan, five Moslem monarchs put together. Now, from the point of view of the orthodox Moslem, this war in the Balkans is a war between the Cross and the Crescent ; and yet, if Christian Powers were attacking the Sultanates of Morocco or Zanzibar, or the Moslem kingdoms of Persia or Afghanistan, instead of the Moslem country of Turkey, though those would be wars between the Christian and Moslem, they would not be, from the Sunni Moslem point of view, wars against the Crescent. What is it, then, that makes the position of Turkey as a Moslem State unique in the religious sentiment of over 50 millions of King George's Moslem subjects in India ?

After the death of the Prophet, Abu Bakr became his Vicegerent or Khalifa (Caliph), and was followed as Khalifa by others. I shall here deal solely with the view which the Sunni sect of Mahomedans hold regarding the Khalifa, both because the premier Moslem Prince of India, His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, who rules over 15 million subjects and over 80,000 square miles of territory, is a Sunni, and also because the vast majority of the Moslem subjects of England in India, numbering over 50 millions, are Sunnis. To the Sunnis the Sultan of Turkey is the Khalifa, or Vicegerent of the Prophet on earth. On him has fallen the mantle of Mahomed. The Sultan is their spiritual and temporal head. Other Moslem rulers, like the Sultan of Morocco or the Sultan of Zanzibar, may be termed Sultan, but they are not accorded the privileges of the Khalifa. According to the Sunnis, the Sultan of Turkey is the only personage who is entitled to introduce reforms in Islam, by causing the *Qanun*, or the Sultan's commands, to be substituted for Hanafi Law; for Hanafi Law did not precede, but followed, the "great Khalifs," the direct successors of the Prophet. The Sultan of Turkey is the "Khalifa Khalifai Rasul Allah," Successor to the Successors of the Prophet; he is the "Sautal Hai," the Living Voice of Islam.

In 1871 no less an authority than Sir William Hunter raised the question: "Are they [the Indian Moslem subjects of Great Britain] bound

in conscience to rebel against the Queen?"* His questioning of their loyalty to England, in view of their acknowledgment of the Sultan of Turkey as their religious and temporal head, was met by rejoinders from three distinguished Moslem leaders, one of Northern India, the well-known Sir Syed Ahmad,† the second from Bengal, Nawab Abdul Latif, and the third Maulavi Cheragh Ali, of Hyderabad. The whole matter in a nutshell was this: According to Moslem law, a country is either (1) *Dar ul harb*, a "country of warfare," or (2) *Dar ul Islam*, a "country of peace." Now, what is British India? Sir William Hunter and his party thought that British India could not properly be looked upon as *Dar ul Islam*; the three Moslem leaders, on the other hand, were anxious to prove that British India was not *Dar ul harb*. The Hyderabad Mahomedans decided that British India was neither *Dar ul harb* nor *Dar ul Islam*,‡ an enunciation which was made to the world by Maulavi Cheragh Ali, afterwards known as Nawab Azam Yar Jang. None of these three Moslem leaders could prove to their European critic that British India was *Dar ul Islam*. The Hyderabad decision was, however, highly im-

* "The Indian Musalmans," by W. W. Hunter. Trubner, 1871.

† "Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans," by Syed Ahmad Khan. Benares, 1872.

‡ "Political Reforms in the Ottoman Empire," by Cheragh Ali, p. 25. Bombay.

portant, because the real centre of Indian Moslem feeling is in that State. Even to-day capital punishment is there inflicted under the laws of the Koran by decapitation by the sword, and not by hanging, a practice which appeals to the Moslem masses throughout the world more than British readers can realize. Another fact not generally known here which raises Hyderabad in Moslem estimation is that hundreds of Moslems from all parts of Asia congregate there annually and start for Mecca on pilgrimage to become *Haji*, His Highness the Nizam, as Defender of the Faith, paying all their expenses. Hyderabad is unquestionably *Dar ul Islam*. The Moslems of Hyderabad are in more direct touch with, and command greater sympathy among, the rest of the Moslem world than even the Moslems of Lahore, Delhi, or Lucknow.

In the seventies the Musalman attracted a considerable amount of attention, in India by the dagger of the Moslem, and in London by the pen of the Christian. The Moslem rebellion against the British Government known as the Wahabi conspiracy drew the eyes of the world to the Indian Mahomedan, and about the same time the Turkish question caused an agitation in the London Press. Two articles in the *Nineteenth Century* on Turkey, one by the Rev. Malcolm McColl, in December, 1877,*

* "Current Fallacies about Turks, Bulgarians, and Russians."

and the other by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in January, 1879,* were potent to stir the great Moslem centre of Hyderabad. Refutations were published at Hyderabad, both in English and in Hindustani, by Maulavi Cheragh Ali, and dedicated to the Sultan of Turkey in the words : " Khalifa and Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan." Such is the power of the Porte to rouse to instant action the greatest Moslem stronghold in India. I was at Hyderabad in the eighties and nineties, and was personally acquainted with Maulavi Cheragh Ali.

Now let us enter a little into the daily life of the Indian Moslem, and see how the Sultan of Turkey exercises influence there. The Indian Moslem's most important prayer of the week is said on a Friday, when there is an oration called *Khutba*, in which he begs Allah to bless the Sultan of Turkey. Whether or not the *Khutba* read every Friday in the Indian mosques is a weekly reminder to the Faithful that India is *Dar ul harb* (a "country of warfare"), the fact remains that every Friday in hundreds of mosques in the British territories, as well as in the Protected Moslem States in India, the allegiance that the millions of Sunni Mahomedans owe to the Sultan of Turkey is brought vividly to their memory. The importance of the Friday prayer is thus emphasized by the Koran, Surah Ixii. 9 : " Oh ye who believe ! when the

* " Passing Events in Turkey."

call to prayer is made on the day of congregation (*yaumu'l-jum'ah*) hasten to the remembrance of God (*Khutba*) and leave off traffic." It is no easy matter even for a Moslem ruler to alter the wording of a *Khutba*,* for we have it on the authority of Muntakhab-ul-lubab what difficulties arose at Lahore when a Moslem Sovereign of India wished to insert one word in the *Khutba*. I am quite aware of the argument that the Sultan of Turkey cannot be the Khalifa because he is not of the Quraish tribe, and I am also conversant with Maulavi Cheragh Ali's book and the pamphlets by Sir Syed Ahmad and Nawab Abdul Latif, so I know all sides of the question as discussed by Sir William Hunter and his three critics; but for obvious reasons I am dealing only with Moslem practices as they are in India, not as they should be according to this or that authority.

Roughly speaking, there are three Hindus to one Moslem in India. For a whole generation after the Wahabi insurrection of the seventies, the Government of India did everything possible to check Moslem fanaticism by balancing the Hindus against the Moslems, including in their policy of counterpoise the Ruling Princes. It is the careful adjustment of the Hindu and Mahomedan elements of the Indian population which makes it possible to maintain tranquillity in

* "History of India," by Sir H. M. Elliot, vol. vii., p. 427.
1877.

India with only 75,000 British troops. Of course, in this system of equipoise the careful student of politics has to take into consideration the Hindus who form the vast majority of the subjects of the premier Moslem Prince, the Nizam, and the Moslems who form the vast majority of the subjects of the Hindu ruler of Kashmir, as well as various other factors. But it is one thing to manage India when the *pax Britannica* is in full force, and quite another thing to do so when the *pax Britannica* is suspended, as it was in the dark days of the Indian Mutiny, or when, according to the belief of the mob in the Indian bazaars, the prestige of the Union Jack is waning, as during the Boer War. Then the problem assumes a more difficult aspect. Why, only a couple of years ago the religious fervour of the Hindu and the Moslem over the killing of a cow brought Maxim guns into the streets of Calcutta !

After thirty years of balancing the Hindu and the Mahomedan, the Government of India found relief in the thought that they had built up a fairly substantial edifice for all practical purposes ; but during the present century this balance has been considerably modified according to the conception of the importance of the two communities held by the modern rulers of India. For instance, when granting representation under the Morley-Minto scheme, a preference was shown to the Moslems, though in the

premier Moslem State of Hyderabad itself the Moslem enjoys no such preference from the rulers of his own religion. In the Morley-Minto scheme, however, the British authorities had at least the satisfaction of acting with their eyes wide open. But recently they have again upset the Hindu-Moslem balance in India by an action which, perhaps, they never imagined capable of such religious significance—I mean the transfer of the Capital to Delhi. Neither Lord Crewe's Despatches nor the Curzon-Crewe Debate in the House of Lords gave the British reader any idea how England, by removing the Capital to Delhi, has placed herself more within the sway of Moslem influence than the authorities would care to admit. Delhi has been a Moslem stronghold, and, occasionally, a fanatical centre, for several centuries, and in the great Masjid there is a strong Indian focus of the power of the Crescent second only to Hyderabad. In peace times, no doubt, rupees, titles, and decorations play an important part in balancing the Moslem and the Hindu, but when the *pax Britannica* is under suspension, or when the prestige of the Union Jack seems to the Indian Mahomedan to be waning, greater force is exercised by the mosque and the temple than by money or by titles. Anyone who properly understands the vitality and inner working of Hinduism is aware that a dozen modern temples, though worth perhaps a million pounds, have not a hundredth

part of the real power over the Hindus that is wielded by an ancient shrine which may be merely hewn out of the rock among Himalayan glaciers. Now, Delhi has no Hindu shrine whose power might be set over against the influence of its great Moslem mosque. That is how the transfer of the Capital to Delhi, a city associated with some of the world's greatest massacres by Nadir Shah and others, gives a fresh impetus to Moslem activity.

If British statesmen, even so long after the conquest of India, do not feel justified in abandoning the old Roman motto *divide et impera*, they might remember that it is dangerous to divide unequally, for in that case the favoured party gets into a position from which it can dictate terms to the rulers themselves. This is what has happened with regard to the Mahomedans, and this is one reason why just now an attitude of neutrality in the Balkan struggle is the only prudent position for England to adopt. The Moslem preferential tariff in the Morley-Minto scheme of representation made some of the Indian Moslems actually believe that they were in a position to dominate British foreign policy, but the cool reception they met with when they tried, a year or two ago, to interfere in matters Persian, and recently with reference to the Balkan War, should go a great way towards disabusing their minds of the idea of their own importance, and convince them that as long as

Britannia rules the waves she is not to be dictated to by the Moslem or anyone else, though just at present it may suit her best to be neutral. Without any reference to European politics, the Indian aspect of the question in itself justifies the King's proclamation of neutrality. Any other attitude would have been misunderstood by the Indian Moslems, who all over India are now busily engaged in raising subscriptions for the wounded Turks and offering prayers in hundreds of mosques for the victory of the Sultan's arms.

My argument is by no means the permanent incapacity of the British to move without consulting the Moslem in India. Far from it. The unpreparedness of England to interfere in the Balkans is only temporary, and is due more than anything else to her two short-sighted bids for popularity—the Moslem preference in the Morley-Minto scheme, and the transfer of the Indian Capital to a Moslem centre. The British now have to restore the equilibrium as it was in the closing years of last century. Once they have done this they will be able to move which way they please, as far as Turkey is concerned. But what British diplomatists should aim at is to be prepared ; to have the Hindu ready on their side, and not to have to conciliate him when the Turks have forced a critical situation upon England.

Far-sighted British statesmen always kept

in view the following three important facts, which make the position of the Hindu peculiar : (1) Though many Englishmen have fallen victims to Moslem fanaticism, a murder of an Englishman by a Hindu from "religious" motives is absolutely unknown. (2) In their endeavours to save the souls of African negroes and Indian Bhils there will always be friction between the Cross and the Crescent, for both are proselytizing faiths, whereas Hinduism would refuse to take a convert, even if anyone like Mrs. Besant, who has spent twenty years in holy Benares and actually preached Hinduism, wished to enter its fold. (3) No Hindu is a permanent resident in any foreign country, so England's difficulties with foreign Powers over the Hindu are reduced to a minimum. With regard to the Moslem, these three great causes of friction are always existent. Hindu unrest is a lesser evil than Moslem unrest, because the former cannot become so complicated as the latter. Therefore British authorities should guard against hasty application of a remedy which might later prove worse than the disease. There are many thousands of Mahomedans in the Native Army, and there are the fanatic Moslem tribes of the North-Western Frontier, where occasionally a few mullahs preach *jihad*, the "holy war" of Islam, and give great trouble to the Government. With the Persian revolution almost touching the Indian frontiers and

putting a strain on the Indian Army resources, any additional burden placed on the Indian executive to suppress Moslem rebellions in all parts of India would, perhaps, be more of a responsibility than the Viceroy at this juncture would care to add to his already existing burden.

The power of religion in politics is evident from history. During the pre-Christian era Hindu Imperialists made use of their religion for purposes of political assimilation. Greek political life was influenced by religion through the Oracles, and the Apollo at Delphi often regulated the balance of power by mysterious prophecies. "Alexander Severus wished to erect a temple to Christ on the Capitol of Rome, and Hadrian scattered places of worship to unknown gods broadcast through his wide dominions."* The Jews recognized little difference between the Church and the State. Similarly the dominion of the Popes was both spiritual and temporal. According to an Arab proverb, *Al Mulko vad Dino tavaman*, State and Religion are twins. Sir Alfred Lyall speaks of how both Christianity and Mahomedanism made religion a vital element in politics.† The Moslems, therefore, are not the only people with whom religion is an important factor in

* "Ancient and Modern Imperialism," by the Earl of Cromer, p. 92.

† "Race and Religion," by Sir Alfred Lyall, p. 14.

the political life of the State. But in the case of the Indian Moslem matters are more complicated than usual, owing to his allegiance to a foreign ruler, the Sultan of Turkey, the head of his faith. Considerations of space make it impossible here to discuss how the Khalifa regulates Moslem patriotism, unlike the Christian Church, which blends itself with geographical patriotism. To the Moslem mind the intense emotional force in the word Khalifa embraces both personal and dynastic loyalty. In that word lies buried the subconscious influence of centuries. I have lived in Hyderabad for years, and have argued cases civil, criminal, and revenue, under the laws of the Koran, in courts in which not a single word of English was spoken, and which were presided over by learned Moslem judges; and though myself a Hindu, I have had the honour of representing the Moslem Government of the Nizam in his Highness's own courts. I was also for years the editor of a newspaper at Hyderabad in which Moslem politics and Moslem religion were often discussed by distinguished followers of Islam. I therefore know that to the millions of Indian Moslems the word Khalifa acts as a charm, which carries with it an immediate stimulus of affection for the Turkish cause, and a corresponding disaffection towards all infidels, which perhaps no other word or phrase can conjure up. The word Khalifa has greater psycho-

logical effect on the Moslems than any phrase like Bismarck's "political egoism" or Mazzini's "pact of humanity" could have on Western nations.

It must not be forgotten that within the last twelve months the Indian Moslems have received from the British two rather hard knocks, and that it will be some time before their heart-burning on that account will cease. The Repartition of Bengal, after Lord Morley's repeated assurance that the Partition by Lord Curzon was a "settled fact," has shaken the faith of the Indian Moslem in the British word, and the recent decision of the Government of India against granting powers to the proposed Moslem University in regard to the affiliation of colleges is much resented by them. Hence an open attack on their Khalifa just now would have created trouble.

As long as *divide et impera* is their motto, the future policy of British statesmen should be to devise checks, balances, and counterpoises against Pan-Islam in India, by proper adjustment of the Hindu element to Imperial requirements, so that in an emergency suddenly created by a political situation in Europe, England could cease to be neutral, and thus prevent a European conflagration. For, as Kossuth said, neutrality as a lasting principle is an evidence of weakness.

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